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REBEL RELIGION

The story of Confederate Chaplains • *by*

HERMAN NORTON

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MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FOREWORD

The Civil War is of perennial interest. No event in the history of our nation appears to have evoked as much comment, spoken and written, during and since. With the centennial observances at hand, sponsoring fever-pitch concern, the delivery of addresses and the production of volumes will obviously reach a record high as attempts are made to portray, in whole or in part, the conflict which divided homes and pitted brother against brother. The written accounts will be especially valuable as they are added to the depository for future reference.

An activity within the framework of the military, from the beginning of our country to the present, that has not been publicized to any appreciable degree is that of the chaplaincy. This is regrettable. Dedicated ministers, under the regulations of military life, have rendered valuable and effective service, and fascinatingly so. More needs to be written about it.

No part of the total drama of the American past could have greater appeal than a combination of the Civil War and the military ministry. This book combines the two as it sets forth the details of the organization and function of the Confederate chaplaincy.

The author is a scholar unusually familiar with the cause and development of the Civil War, especially the Confederate activities. He is an experienced army chaplain with over seventeen years' service. These factors make him uniquely qualified to search the records, evaluate the accounts, and present the story of the ministers who labored as chaplains in the military forces of the Confederate States of America. He has worked

with these military ministers of old as though they were colleagues. Aware of their opportunities, alert to their problems, he has written with sympathetic understanding, insight, and objectivity.

A reading of this account simultaneously permits one to participate in commemoration of the Civil War Centennial and to become vicariously associated with the Confederate chaplain. It should be widely read. Both profit and pleasure will be the rewards of the reader.

William R. Douglas
Brigadier General
Tennessee ARNG

PREFACE

The countless volumes that have been written about the Civil War period of American history could easily lead one to conclude that there is no area of endeavor or realm of activity that has not been treated adequately. Grant had scarcely received the surrender of Lee at Appomattox before autobiographies and battle and campaign histories were pouring from the presses in both the North and the South. Now, with the centennial observance of the war upon us, the prospects are bright for an increasing number of published works on virtually all aspects of the conflict.

Certain phases of the war have attracted, and will probably continue to attract, disproportionate attention. Activities other than the political and military apparently were considered peripheral, if mentioned at all.

Neglected aspects of the conflict between the North and South have gradually come to receive attention. In the last few decades interest in the Civil War seems to have shifted from military and political history to a history of the life of the people. The earlier historians emphasized the military and political activities at the expense of setting forth events in the lives of the people. Even today the comprehensive historian, in an attempt to rescue the more obvious cultural aspects from obscurity, has not related accounts of several forces and institutions which played a part in the life of the common man. Scholars interested primarily in social and cultural history have made only a passing reference to the role of the church in the South during the Civil War, and several church historians have

given it only enough attention to arouse interest among the more inquisitive.

Acutely aware that the place of the church in the Confederacy during the Civil War has been neglected, the author felt that the time was right for investigation that would assist in rectifying a historical discrepancy. This book attempts to correct one phase of that deficiency by setting forth information relative to the organization and function of the chaplaincy in the Confederate armies.

The material in this book first appeared as a dissertation, prepared to meet partial requirements for the Ph.D. degree at Vanderbilt University. The author is under a debt of gratitude to those who assisted in bringing the volume to this point of development. Professors Herbert Weaver and Henry Swint gave invaluable time and guidance, manifested unusual patience and understanding from the conception to the completion of the original manuscript. Miss Clara Mae Brown, reference librarian in charge of interlibrary loan, Joint University Libraries, labored especially hard and beyond the call of expected duty to procure materials. Alma Allen Norton, the author's wife, gave encouragement and valuable aid over years of study and research.

In its present form and state of readability, this volume is the work of Norris Woodie, Berea College, Berea, Kentucky. With primary concern for readability, Dr. Woodie in rewriting has kept notes to a minimum. For those interested in more detailed information, an unpublished version of the story, over 360 pages in length, and containing detailed footnotes and bibliography, is deposited in the Joint University Libraries, Nashville, Tennessee.

Herman Norton
Disciples Divinity House
Vanderbilt University
August 1, 1961

CONTENTS

PROLOGUE: THE RISE OF A TRADITION 11

1. Unsuccessful Pleas by Young George Washington 12
2. Influence of the Commander-in-Chief 13
3. The Post-Revolutionary Period 14
4. The War of 1812 and Following 16
5. The Mexican War and the Catholic Question 17

WHAT MANNER OF MAN? 21

1. "Sugar in the Gourd" 21
2. In the Water with Fifty-Eight Converts 26
3. "Send Me My Commission at Once" 28
4. "One of the Purest and Best Men I Ever Knew" 33
5. Supplies with Which to Feed the Flock 34
6. The Fruit of His Service 36

THE GREAT REVIVAL 39

1. Four Miles of Preaching 39
2. Beginnings of the Great Revival 41
3. God's Boxes 45
4. "A Real, Whole-Souled, Working Chaplain" 46
5. "Beneath the Wings of Rejoicing Angels" 48
6. Dalton: The Spiritual Birthplace of Thousands 51

A CLOSER LOOK AT MCNEILLY 55

1. Help from Outside 55
2. "That Fatal, Awful Hour" 57
3. A Basket Full of Bibles 60
4. Regiments Demoralized by Churches 63

WHO IS ON THE LORD'S SIDE? 67

1. Sermons Plain and Practical 67
2. "Died of Whiskey" 72
3. "An Easy Way to Get to Heaven" 74
4. "Many Bulls Encompass Me" 76

BEYOND THE CALL OF DUTY 81

1. John Brown's Rifle 81
2. Broken Legs on the Battlefield 87
3. "So I Can Read God's World and Write to My Wife" 90
4. Bureau of Missing Persons 93

SOME SPECIAL PROBLEMS 96

1. What Means This Rank? 96
2. Too Many Preachers, Too Few Chaplains 101
3. The One and the Many 105
4. "The Slough of Open Communion" 108

EPILOGUE: THE TRADITION EVALUATED 111

Appendix 115

A Roster of Confederate Chaplains 115

Bibliography 135

PROLOGUE:

THE RISE OF A TRADITION

Pioneers in almost any movement—those who simply see a need and do their best to meet it—often serve without official sanction and without benefit of organizations to promote their professional status. Their names are frequently lost to history, and exact origins of their now-established tradition are difficult to trace.

While no specific date marks the beginning of the tradition of the military chaplaincy, religious needs of soldiers have been met by dedicated men for a very long time, even before our country became a nation. Early chaplains—Franciscan friars, Jesuit priests, Anglican clerics, Puritan divines—served colonizing groups. And some, ironically, were missionaries to the very Indians whom their soldier-parishioners fought.

There was at first no attempt to make these early functions less ambiguous. But for a hundred years before the American Revolution, there was a slow and uneven tendency to establish the military chaplaincy on a more formal basis. The first recorded event in this direction was in 1637 when Boston ministers chose two of their number to go with Massachusetts troops aiding Connecticut in the Pequot war. Other evidence of early recognition of chaplains by the colony of Massachusetts includes: a 1690 appointment by Governor Bradstreet of four ministers for 2,500 men led by Sir William Phips against Quebec; an appropriation in 1702 of twenty pounds a year

to help support a chaplain at the Brookfield military garrison; and a 1754 appointment of the Reverend John Norton to be chaplain for a chain of forts in the northern part of the colony.

With these stirrings came sporadic recognition from other colonies, along with some events now humorous in perspective. In 1690, for instance, two chaplains were appointed to military companies in New York. But one of these, Symon Smith by name, was soon dismissed. The reason: falsifying a marriage license and uniting a notorious priest with another priest's wife.

As one might expect, Benjamin Franklin gave his usual bit of practical advice. When a Pennsylvania chaplain complained that very few men participated in prayers and exhortations, Franklin said the chaplain ought to take over the daily distribution of rum. After that, prayers were "never more generally and punctually attended."

1. Unsuccessful Pleas by Young George Washington

While ministers served military personnel from the earliest settlements of New France, New Spain, and New England, George Washington was the first influential leader to insist on official recognition of their function. The legendary image of Washington is thus supported by his repeated—but often frustrated—communications on this subject.

At twenty-four, the young frontier commander unsuccessfully petitioned Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia for a chaplain in the Shenandoah Valley, to help restrain drunkenness and other improprieties there. In 1756, when Washington headed a regiment in the wake of General Braddock's French and Indian defeat, he wrote the governor again. Arguing that the want of a chaplain reflected "great dishonor upon the regiment as all other officers are allowed," he reported that "the gentlemen of the corps" were "sensible of this" and had offered to support a chaplain at their own expense. But Washington would have none of this. He insisted on a regular appointment by the governor, because this "would have a more graceful appearance."

In June of the following year, Washington repeated his request, but to no avail. Time after time he asked Governor Dinwiddie to appoint a "gentleman of sober, serious, and religious deportment," and time after time the governor failed to act. Washington also wrote Dinwiddie's successor, John Blair, arguing against the uncharitable notion that soldiers are "void of religion and incapable of good instruction." He appealed to Blair in the name of "common decency in the camp," but even though some thirty chaplains were on duty between 1755 and 1763, none was ever assigned to Washington's regiment.

Despite such puzzling inattention to the pleas of young Washington, virtually every colony had some kind of chaplaincy arrangement when the Revolution began. It is true that these plans were varied and often inoperative. Virginia, for instance, established its militia regimental chaplaincy by legislation in 1758, yet made no appointments under this act until 1766. Major General Artemus Ward found little organization in the chaplaincy during his tour of duty, and President Samuel Langdon of Harvard ministered to the entire army for a brief period in 1775. But volunteer chaplains without official sanction abounded, and Ezra Stiles, within a month of the Battle of Lexington, reported "ministers plenty."

2. *Influence of the Commander-in-Chief*

When Washington took command of the colonial army in 1775, one of his first orders concerned religion and morality in the ranks. The new Commander-in-Chief undoubtedly remembered past high-level inaction on these matters, and lost no time in making his point of view officially known. He wanted his men to attend religious services and to abstain from drunkenness and profanity. Reflecting this attitude less than two months after Washington took full command, the Continental Congress on July 29, 1775 adopted a resolution embodying the legal origin of the Corps of Chaplains.

Incomplete and sometimes conflicting records show that one hundred seventy-nine chaplains served officially during the

Revolutionary War. Most were assigned to regiments and later to brigades, but some ministered to hospitals and one was a German chaplain-at-large. The list also includes a division-headquarters chaplain and a missionary to friendly Indians. Some chaplains fought in line companies, several acted as surgeons, a few were interpreters, and at least one served as an aide-de-camp. Revolutionary War records also show three chaplains killed; two wounded; more than ten captured; one drowned in a prison ship escape attempt; and eight claimed by natural death.

Throughout the war, chaplains were chosen by various officials, including Congress, state legislatures, governors, military commanders, and groups of civilian ministers. Chaplains were not commissioned officers, but served under contracts, and their sermons frequently contained biting sarcasms against the British. True to character, Washington remained solicitous for chaplains throughout his career. He believed they helped deter troop misconduct, but valued their contributions beyond this fact. Thus in writing Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, he commended chaplain Abiel Leonard as one who had "taken great pains to animate the Soldiery and Impress them with a knowledge of the important rights we are contending for."

To insure competent ministers for this vital role, Washington appealed to Congress on December 31, 1775 for an increase in pay for chaplains. In addition, his general orders of February 7, 1776, designated one chaplain for every two regiments, and he later ordered immediate reports from noncomplying brigades.

In June, 1776, Washington asked Congress to authorize one chaplain for each regiment, and again emphasized chaplain salary needs. Congress granted this request, but in spite of bitter protests from the Commander-in-Chief, later changed its mind and authorized only one chaplain for every three regiments. Finally, on May 27, 1777, Congress ordered that there should be one chaplain with each brigade to be nominated by the

brigade general, appointed by Congress, and paid the same as a colonel. This act included an increase in pay from twenty to sixty dollars a month (chaplains were originally paid according to the rank of a captain). Later the same year another act authorized chaplains to be appointed to hospitals, with compensation of sixty dollars per month, three rations a day, and forage for one horse.

3. *The Post-Revolutionary Period*

While Washington was not always pleased with specific chaplaincy laws, he nevertheless had made his point. He had at least succeeded in emphasizing the function of military ministers and had influenced their official recognition.

With the end of the Revolutionary War, however, the Continental army virtually disintegrated, and with it, the Corps of Chaplains. General Knox in 1783 reduced the army to less than 700 men, and in 1784, Congress cut this number to 50 privates and a proportionate number of officers, none above the rank of captain.

When the Constitution went into effect, however, the army had been increased to regiment strength, with no chaplain, and in 1791 Congress ordered a second regiment to help deal with constant threats from the Indians. A minister was authorized for this one-brigade military establishment, and on March 4, 1791, John Hurt became the first chaplain in the Army of the United States. Hurt, an Episcopalian from Virginia, had served more than seven years as a chaplain in the Revolution. He was succeeded in 1794 by David Jones, a Pennsylvania Baptist with a similar seven-year Revolution record, but Jones was honorably discharged 45 days after his appointment.

About two years after the discharge of Chaplain Jones, Congress again reconsidered army organization and on May 30, 1796, passed a bill to "ascertain and fix the military establishment." While this act called for no chaplains, provisional legislation in 1798, passed under pressure of uneasy relations with France, authorized four chaplains with pay and emolu-

ments equivalent to a major. Nevertheless, detailed provisional rosters, compiled by Lieutenant General Washington and Inspector General Alexander Hamilton, listed no chaplains.

Provisional army enactments of 1798 and 1799 were virtually withdrawn in 1800 after relations with France had improved. Logically, this meant a return to 1791 legislation authorizing a brigade with one chaplain.

4. The War of 1812 and Following

By 1812 the chaplaincy tradition in America had thus arisen but its history reflects no steady legislative policy, suggests that many posts went unmanned, and comprises various other setbacks.

The War of 1812 adds a further complication, for in this conflict, War Department records were destroyed and names of only ten officially appointed chaplains survive. In addition, only one legislative reference to chaplains has been found for the 1800-1813 period—an act, dated April 12, 1808, increasing the size of the army and providing for three brigade chaplains.

On January 29, 1813, however, Congress ordered twenty additional regiments to serve one year and authorized a chaplain for each brigade. An 1814 issue of *Army Register* indicates that seven chaplains actually served under this act. But there is no evidence that posts created by federalization of state regimental units on April 8, 1814 were ever filled.

When the War of 1812 ended, Congress did not repeat its post-Revolutionary mistake of dismantling the army. A military force of 10,000 men, with brigade chaplains, was maintained. But a setback for officially recognized military ministers came in 1818 when legislation authorizing brigade chaplains was repealed. From this repeal until 1838 the government recognized only one chaplain in the entire army. He was stationed at West Point Military Academy. In addition to pastoral responsibilities, his duties included teaching geography, history, and ethics. He received the same pay and emoluments as the Academy's professor of mathematics.

Virtual abandonment of the chaplaincy is thus suggested by Congressional action of 1818, but other records give a slightly different picture. In 1820, for instance, *Army Regulations* authorized allowances to chaplains for quarters, fuel, transportation, and uniforms. In 1833 a military magazine reported chaplains at many posts, even though they were not provided for by law. Some chaplains during this period were undoubtedly supported privately, a number apparently "contracting" to serve army posts adjacent to their parishes.

The Secretary of War in 1831 suggested that appointment of chaplains at certain posts would be a great advantage to the service. In addition, a Senate resolution in 1834 instructed the Committee on Military Affairs to consider authorizing a battalion chaplain for mounted rangers defending the frontier.

Surviving almost thirty years without Congressional authorization, the chaplaincy was legislatively revitalized in 1838. On July 5, 1838, after the possibility of a third war with England had diminished, Congress increased the military establishment and specified twenty chaplaincy posts. This act set the chaplain's pay at forty dollars a month and made him post schoolmaster as well as religious leader. Usually serving as post librarian, he was allowed an assistant to help carry out his educational program.

Appointed at Fort Crawford, Wisconsin, September 19, 1838, Richard J. Cadle, an Episcopalian minister, became the first post chaplain under the new act. Within a year, seven other appointments were made. And even though the original act specified twenty, a total of twenty-seven posts got chaplains during the next few years. Still more post chaplaincies were established as the Washington territory opened.

5. The Mexican War and the Catholic Question

Annexation of Texas plus American desires for California were background factors of the War with Mexico, 1846-1848. The immediate cause of this conflict, however, was Mexican rejection of the Rio Grande as a national boundary.

War, however, came at a time of violent anti-Catholic sentiment in the United States. Mexican propaganda, capitalizing on religious prejudices in this country, labeled the American cause unholy. Roman Catholic soldiers in the United States army were quite naturally susceptible to a Protestant-versus-Catholic interpretation of the war, and some, of Irish birth, actually deserted. Furthermore, conditions in the American army at that time did not ease the tense religious situation. While an appreciable number of troops were Catholic, not a single chaplain of that faith had been appointed to serve them. In some cases, so-called chaplains were not ministers at all; they were superannuated sergeants, and one was a retired cook. The climax came in 1846 in Mexico when Roman Catholic troops mutinied against compulsory attendance at Protestant services.

Alarmed that desertion and mutiny among Roman Catholic soldiers would spread, President Polk invited bishops of New York, St. Louis, and Mobile to a White House conference on the matter. After meeting with these men, Polk used his wartime powers to designate two priests, Fathers John McElroy and Anthony Rey, both of Washington, D.C., to serve as chaplains-at-large. Introducing these men by letter to Major General Zachary Taylor, May 29, 1846, Secretary of War William L. Marcy took note of the legal technicality that President Polk actually did not have the authority to appoint chaplains, but said the President hoped these priests would be respected and treated well.

Fathers McElroy and Rey left Washington June 2, 1846, and reported to General Taylor in Mexico on July 6. Although neither appears on official rolls, both served ably, and Father Rey was killed, either by Mexican guerillas or robbers.

Legislation of the Mexican War period included an act of Congress on February 11, 1847, authorizing brigade administrative officers to employ chaplains. The same act stipulated that chaplains were required, at the discretion of the Secretary

of War, to leave their posts and join the troops in Mexico. At the end of the Mexican War, authorization for post chaplains was increased from twenty to thirty. But half these positions were not filled. A survey of Army Departments in 1857 reveals the following information on the subject. East: six posts filled out of eleven authorized; West: five out of ten; Florida: none out of nine; Pacific: four out of twenty-one.

One of the chaplains in the Department of the West was Father Ignacio Ramirez, apparently the first officially appointed Roman Catholic to serve in this capacity. Another Catholic, Father Michael Sheehan, was one of four authorized post chaplains in the Department of Texas. Not counting volunteers, special presidential appointees, and militia chaplains, about one hundred military ministers served officially between the days of John Hurt and 1861. Except for Fathers Ramirez and Sheehan, all these appear to have been Protestant, and about half were Episcopalian. Such a large proportion of Episcopalian chaplains may reflect a feeling among officers that the formal prayer book suited military ceremonies.

Thus, after many detours, a tradition of the military ministry in America was established. It was against this background of slow and uneven tendencies that the Confederate chaplaincy took its rise.

In some ways, the two stories are similar, but they are also different. The main similarity is that Southern lawmakers, like their colonial predecessors, could not always be depended upon to support the chaplaincy. Then, too, due partly to the chaplains themselves, the office was never fully understood.

One difference in the Confederate story is that while it took a century for the chaplaincy tradition to arise in America, the South had only four short years in which to duplicate the effort—and Southern chaplains had no George Washington to carry their flag. All things considered, however, the Confederate story is quite amazing, and the tradition prospered under Lee and Jackson.

CHAPTER I

WHAT MANNER OF MAN?

1. "SUGAR IN THE GOURD"

The American Civil War was in its second year when a Confederate cavalryman wrote a letter to a church magazine back home in North Carolina. Even though his outfit did not have a chaplain, he wrote mainly to say what manner of man the job required.

He had undoubtedly heard the stories that circulated continuously through the camp. He had heard of many brave and dedicated chaplains who served beyond the call of duty. But stories he may have found more vivid concerned those few common men, who—by their horse trading and black marketing—had given the Southern chaplaincy a bad name.

Because of his religious upbringing, the young letter writer didn't approve too much of ordinary soldier talk. However, with some discomfort, he may have appreciated funny stories the men sometimes told about chaplains: about the minister whose deep-blue clothing made him look like a Yankee; about the rather theatrical chaplain who was conspicuous for his bearskin leggings, the only pair of their kind in *either* army; or about the beaver-hatted chaplain who elicited such disrespectful comments as "Come down out of that hat!" "See your legs hanging out!" "Take that Camp Kettle home!"

In camp bull sessions, he may also have observed that his more folksy comrades couldn't understand why a preacher should ever dress like a woman, while others, more formal, preferred the clerical robe over the gaudy uniform.

In the background of the young soldier's letter was the fact that chaplains had been recognized belatedly by the Congress and were never permitted a formal organization; that chaplains were underpaid, were not allowed to use the regimental commissary, and had no authorized uniform or insignia; that they were commissioned, generally thought of as captains, but actually had no rank or prescribed duties; and that they were often—especially during the first part of the war—ridiculed as "birds of prey."

"Go back, Sir," General Holmes said to a chaplain on the field at Manassas, "there is no place for you; take off that sash, retire to the grove, and besiege a throne of grace."

Against a background of such sentiments, the North Carolina cavalryman described the ideal chaplain. He said that a man of "ordinary" Christian experience simply would not

do. Neither would a great orator, applauded merely for his exclusive congregation. The ideal chaplain would, of course, be "orthodox," charitable, and a moral example. But in addition, he would believe so strongly in the Southern cause that he would provide his men with "new incentive to fight courageously and endure with fortitude." In essence, a chaplain should be an "incarnation of his theology," one whose creed is "no mere mortal elaboration."

The battle-weary writer thus had no qualms about inducting the Almighty into the Confederate army. Neither did the first Confederate Secretary of War, Leroy P. Walker. Writing to President Davis early in 1861, he said that if the South expected blessings, it must first recognize the deity from whom such blessings emanate. Walker also stressed the importance of "religious habitudes" in promoting discipline among the troops.

Southern lawmakers, however, had tried to keep God out of the camp. Otherwise duplicating United States army organization, they had deliberately omitted a Northern article providing for chaplains. While their initial lack of action was soon rectified, their laws throughout the war reflect a bias against the military minister.

These laws served to rid the chaplaincy of some unworthy men, but their over-all result was probably negative. Rather than encouraging an organized corps to maintain high standards in doing an essential job, they simply made a few concessions to religious pressures. The result was that many worthy men were forced to labor under handicaps. At the same time, lack of standards allowed some to devote themselves almost entirely to trading horses and collecting table delicacies.

The fight in Congress about chaplains was bitter. Under pressures of forming a new government and providing for its defense, some lawmakers looked upon military ministers as drones who worked only one day a week. Others seemed to think that churches, not the government, should be responsible for the chaplaincy. Not a few argued that low salaries would

rid the office of its materialistic members, and a Mississippi judge supported pay-reduction legislation for religious reasons —he was opposed, as a matter of principle, to paying the preacher!

In contrast to the prochaplaincy sentiments of George Washington almost a hundred years before, the attitude of Confederate President Jefferson Davis was, at best, only lukewarm, and on one occasion, he even persuaded a medically trained chaplain to become a surgeon instead. Washington, on the other hand, had seen the chaplaincy as a great deterrent to drunkenness and moral impropriety, and had agreed in spirit with the young Confederate who wrote that the ideal chaplain must give his men a sense of what they are fighting for.

Some have suggested that Davis' attitude came from contact with inferior chaplains at West Point and during the Mexican War. But Davis did not typify extreme opposition to the chaplaincy, and he was by no means the sole antagonist among the nation's leaders. War Secretary James Seddon appreciated chaplains even less than Davis. He grossly undervalued their contributions and made it hard for qualified ministers to transfer from the ranks.

Seddon, unlike his predecessor, Leroy Walker, simply could not see making noncombatants out of fighting men. But there were strong objections to Seddon's policy, and when pressures were brought to bear, President Davis cleared the air with a letter to the Chaplains' Association of Tennessee. He commended ministers serving in the ranks for the way they enriched the religious "tone," and said there was no law against soldiers' being elevated to chaplaincy positions even though everybody who applied could not be so appointed. Seddon paid lip service to this policy, but he persisted in refusing to grant chaplaincy commissions to men from the ranks. In 1864 the *Christian Index* blasted Seddon for this. The *Index* named five discriminatory rulings and alleged fifteen others. In addition, a would-be chaplain in the ranks pointed out that Seddon's

policy seemed to favor civilians over those already in the military service. This was "a nice way of doing business," he said.

Thus, even after legislative recognition of the military minister, one editor criticized responsible officials for not making "adequate provision for the religious culture" of Southern troops, and still later, another stated: "There is wanting in our authorities the spirit of reverence for the Lord and His cause."

Some horse-trading chaplains may have argued that their low salaries entitled them to extra compensation. But this rationale scarcely explains the antics of one "chaplain" who candidly confessed stealing several hundred dollars on his way to join the army at Dalton. Attempting to get away, he forged himself a "leave of absence" and an order for "free transportation" to the rear. Upon being found out, he feigned illness, and was sent to a hospital from which he soon escaped.

The chaplain of Mosby's brigade was often seen at gay festivities dancing to the tune of "Sugar in the Gourd" and "All Around the Chicken Roost." On other occasions, he was known to place a few bets on "the old grey mare." An army surgeon was amazed that some chaplains were in the daily and constant habit of drinking whiskey for their health. One chaplain was actually court-martialed for deserting to the enemy.

Such events led a Mississippi correspondent to conclude that "some of the largest extortioners on a small scale" he had even seen were army chaplains "going over the country buying up eatables at low figures and peddling them out at famine prices."

Thus while the North Carolina cavalryman pondered the ideal chaplain, Congress was disturbed by the flesh-and-blood activities of real ones. And despite prochaplaincy outcries that God was being insulted, lawmakers first cut chaplain salaries from eighty-five to fifty dollars a month, and finally stabilized them at eighty. Later, chaplains received fringe benefits in the form of rations, stationery, and forage for their horses.

The forage bill, delayed until 1864, had trouble getting passed. One legislator wanted it made absolutely clear that the law provided forage, not horses—with no forage if the chaplain had no horse!—and proposed an amendment to that effect. He may have been prompted to make this suggestion by the chaplain who appropriated a Virginia farmer's horse and said his precedent was Jesus Christ who "took an ass from his owner, whereon to ride into Jerusalem." The chaplain in question was squelched by an officer who summed up the matter thus: "You are not Jesus Christ; this is not an ass; you are not on your way to Jerusalem; and the sooner you restore that horse to its owner, the better it will be for you."

2. *IN THE WATER WITH FIFTY-EIGHT CONVERTS*

In talking about the ideal chaplain, the North Carolina cavalryman did not reflect the perennial argument of age versus youth. A young man himself, he did not note in his letter that two thirds of the 600 Confederate chaplains were under 30; that their average age was 28; that several including a well-known poet-priest, Abram Ryan, were only 21; and that only a handful were over 50; the oldest, Aristides Smith, was 53.

Religious publications had made quite a bit of the chaplains' relative youth, and were inclined to say it was too bad more experienced men were not serving. One reason for this sentiment was that young men were too mobile. While some went from the ranks to the chaplaincy, many moved in the opposite direction, or left military life completely. Such a fluid situation did not give the chaplaincy the stability it needed.

Nevertheless, one young chaplain, J. M. Campbell, claimed that criticisms of his becoming a line captain were unjust. He said his ambition was not "worldly honor," that his motive was "true love of home and country." An able-bodied man, he had been worried about his non-combatant status, and had finally

chosen not to hide behind his ministry. "It is my duty," he wrote, "to wield the sword of the flesh as well as the sword of the spirit.

On the other hand, one cannot doubt the enthusiasm of some young men who chose the chaplaincy instead of the ranks. Such a man was John J. Hyman, who knew he was young, but would do anything for his Master's cause, and by preaching five or six times a day during a Georgia brigade revival, showed he meant what he said. He was about ready to break from the strain of overwork when Chaplain Edward R. Barrett relieved him. But Hyman was "in the water baptizing fifty-eight converts" when orders came to march in the Gettysburg campaign.

Chaplaincy appointments of young men like Hyman were frequently initiated by troop petitions approved by commanding officers. Such appointees from the ranks must have been popular and effective. Roman Catholic priests were not appointed in this manner. But two of the more publicized Protestant chaplains, Randolph McKim and J. William Jones, came from the ranks.

McKim, a native of Maryland and graduate of the University of Virginia, enlisted in time for the first battle at Bull Run and by autumn, 1863, was aide-de-camp for Brigadier General George H. Stewart. He resigned his commission as lieutenant to re-enter the service as a chaplain. After an alarming delay by the War Department, he received his chaplaincy commission on August 23, 1864, and served with the 2nd Virginia Cavalry.

After his graduation from Southern Baptist Seminary at Greenville, J. William Jones enlisted as a private and fought at Harpers Ferry in 1861. He was made chaplain of the 13th Virginia Infantry in November, 1863, was present for every battle in which the Army of Northern Virginia participated, and was among Lee's surrendered forces at Appomattox. Jones, like several other chaplains, doubled as a war correspondent. In a column for the *Religious Herald,* he used the

pen name "Occasional," and attempted to cover all aspects of military life and activity. Jones was perhaps the most readable and reliable writer among chaplain correspondents. In 1887 he published a book about the war, *Christ in the Camp.*

Transfers from the ranks, then, were able men. They were enthusiastic, popular, and effective. In addition, almost all Confederate chaplains entered the service with some previous ministerial experience. Less than thirty came to the chaplaincy from civilian occupations other than the ministry, and these —mainly teachers and editors of religious magazines—had worked in allied fields. Nevertheless, Southern chaplains were sometimes accused of inefficiency, a charge due partly to their youth, but also resulting from problems unique to the military ministry. In the best Christian tradition, young chaplains often admitted their inefficiency, and on some occasions very efficiently carried on meetings to iron out their own shortcomings. In one such meeting they resolved to spend more time visiting the troops.

Aside from questions of efficiency, reasons for there being such a large number of young chaplains in the Confederacy are not hard to come by. In the first place, there was a definite tendency—rejected, however, by the cavalryman who wrote about the ideal chaplain—to say that the war was not going to last long and that "anybody would do." In addition, young men, even though an unusual number under 35 resigned for reasons of health, were more able-bodied. Then, too, some older ministers undoubtedly took a dim view of enduring hardships and also sacrificing income.

3. "SEND ME MY COMMISSION AT ONCE"

A well-known citizen of Tennessee, Charles T. Quintard had been greatly honored by being elected chaplain of a military company stationed in Nashville, the "Rock City Guards." When Tennessee joined the Confederacy, this company was expanded to regiment strength and within a month was fighting at Bull Run as part of the Confederate Army. Most state

militia units had governor-appointed chaplains like Quintard who shifted their allegiance to the Confederacy, their new commissions being merely a matter of form.

This transition, however, was not always simple. John Bannon, for instance, served Roman Catholic troops for almost a year without recognition. He was finally commissioned, but only because the Bishop of Mobile asked Navy Secretary Mallory to use his influence with the Secretary of War. Bannon had been chaplain of the Missouri militia and had followed his unit into General Price's army. Serving 1,800 Missouri Catholics as they fought under Price at Elkhorn, Farmington, and Corinth, Bannon had spent all his money and was $1,000 in debt when the Bishop intervened. The commission was granted in 1863, but the Bishop's influence was not quite strong enough to get Bannon paid retroactively.

Despite trouble in getting commissioned, Father Bannon's talents did not go unrecognized. In September, 1863, Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin persuaded him to undertake an overseas propaganda mission. The Secretary was concerned by reports that Irishmen were being promised railroad jobs if they would immigrate to New York. Believing the real motive of the United States was to secure Irish recruits for the Federal Army, the Secretary of State chose Bannon to enlighten his fellow countrymen. Bannon was also authorized to visit Rome for papal sanction of his mission, but records do not clearly indicate whether or not this part of the plan was carried out.

In October, 1863, Bannon began spreading Confederate propaganda in Ireland. He told his countrymen that immediately upon arrival in America, immigrants were conscripted into the Federal Army and assigned to the most dangerous posts. As proof, Bannon cited Northern newspapers favorable to the South. He also recounted Northern church burnings, outbreaks of native Americanism, and the rise of the Know-nothing Party. His strategy was to show that the United States had never been friendly to Roman Catholicism. Because he was a Catholic, Bannon was received well, and his mission was

not without results. He caused the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland to protest to the Vatican that the North was "using up the Irish in the war like dogs."

Thus, the man who went for a year without a commission later served the South in a very unusual capacity. His job done in 1864, he tried to return to the South, but a Federal blockade kept him abroad. While waiting for the war to end, he joined the Jesuits and remained in Ireland with this Order until his death in 1913. His final distinction was that of being the only Confederate chaplain to die beyond the borders of the American continent.

Some chaplains were commissioned when their units were nationalized, but the road was not as smooth for others, like Bannon, who had their commissions delayed. Another road to the chaplaincy was through the ranks. But most ministers, especially during the early days of the war, entered military service by direct commissions, and commanding officers sometimes helped them get appointed.

Colonel Angus W. McDonald, for instance, wrote the Secretary of War on behalf of James B. Averitt, a minister he had persuaded to accompany his 7th Virginia Cavalry. McDonald was pleased with Averitt's work, and was also interested in retaining him as a chaplain for another reason. With an official chaplain on his staff, charges that his troops were nothing more than land pirates could be more fully met and refuted. As a result of the colonel's letter, Averitt became allegedly the first chaplain commissioned by the Confederate government. Other colonels made similar requests. One desired a Baptist chaplain; another pointed out the need to do a better job at denominational matching of chaplain and troops; still another was not so concerned about denomination, but wanted a chaplain badly.

Some ministers were so fired up with patriotism that they could not wait for the formalities. They applied directly. Emmeran Bliemel, a Pennsylvania Roman Catholic serving a Tennessee parish when the war broke out, made such an on-

the-spot application, and so did Father Abram Ryan.

Father Bliemel applied directly to Colonel William Grace, commanding officer of the 10th Tennessee Regiment, and was nominated immediately. Bliemel was officially attached to the Tennessee 10th throughout his short career, but like most Roman Catholic chaplains, he traveled from unit to unit, and when a Yankee bullet caught him, he was praying for a wounded soldier of the 4th Kentucky Regiment. After Bliemel's death, the *Confederate Veteran* identified him with the 10th of Tennessee, but a protest letter from the Kentucky 4th bore loving witness that the young priest had done a good job everywhere he served. "There will be trouble in Tennessee," the latter stated, "if you don't give up the gallant, glorious martyrd priest."

Father Ryan survived the war and distinguished himself for his patriotic poetry. He died in Louisville in 1886 as the celebrated poet laureate of the South. Among Ryan's writings were, "The Prayer of the South," and "The Sword of Lee." His strong patriotism also showed through "The Conquered Banner." Written after Lee's surrender at Appomattox, this poem appeared in school readers, was declaimed at public exercises, and hung framed in many a Southern home. Eulogizing the defeated Confederate flag, "The Conquered Banner" concludes:

> Furl that Banner, softly, slowly;
> Treat it gently—it is holy
> For it droops above the dead;
> Touch it not—unfold it never;
> Let it droop there, furled forever,—
> For its people's hopes are fled.

After Ryan's death, citizens of Mobile erected a statue of him. He was the only Confederate chaplain to be so honored.

Patriotic Protestants also sought chaplaincy commissions by the direct approach. They "candidated" for commissions. Chaplain S. M. Cherry, 4th Tennessee Regiment, said the

surest way for a minister to become a chaplain was for him to visit the army and become known to the troops. This was very good advice, even though not all who tried out were commissioned.

Other ministers seeking chaplaincy appointments took the initiative, but were more indirect. One aspirant informed General Leonidas S. Polk, a former Episcopal bishop, that he needed political influence to secure a commission. Polk helped him become chaplain of the 2nd Louisiana Regiment. Another applicant called on Vice President Alexander Stephens for help; others asked editors of religious magazines to intercede for them, and one aspirant had a politician personally submit his application through regular channels.

In short, there was no fixed way to become a chaplain. While some ministers were trying in vain for appointments, some commanding officers were advertising vacancies. Partly because of inadequate legislation, entering the chaplaincy was not an orderly procedure. Nevertheless, certain "clearinghouses" developed to make the task easier.

The Presbyterian clearinghouse was in the persons of a few chaplains of that denomination. Representing the Presbyterian Board of Domestic Missions and referred to as Commissioners, they sought prospective chaplains and helped them secure commissions. The Presbyterians also proposed interdenominational action aimed at securing at least one suitable chaplain for each Confederate brigade, but this action never really materialized.

The Methodists also had Commissioners. Of these, John C. Granbery and Joseph Cross were the most effective. Granbery, a future bishop, was chaplain at the University of Virginia when the war began. He worked diligently to help Methodist ministers become chaplains. Cross, a native of England, had come to the United States in 1825. While a professor at Transylvania in Lexington, Kentucky, he had become prominent in the southern branch of the Methodist church.

The Baptists' clearinghouse was Chaplain J. William Jones

whose function was sometimes misunderstood. He finally published a letter explaining that he did not have the power actually to make chaplaincy appointments, that he only furnished his brethren names of regiments desiring chaplains and vice versa. Nevertheless, one Baptist minister wrote Jones a terse note which said, "Send me my commission at once."

4. "ONE OF THE PUREST AND BEST MEN I EVER KNEW"

A man like Charles T. Quintard was a sharp contrast to those chaplains who didn't measure up.

A native of Connecticut, Quintard was a medically trained Episcopalian. He received the M.D. degree from New York University in 1847, and after a year at Bellevue Hospital set up practice in Athens, Georgia. From there he went in 1851 to teach at the Medical School of Memphis, Tennessee, and prior to becoming a priest in 1854 coedited the *Memphis Medical Recorder.*

Quintard's first charge as a priest was in Calvary Episcopal Church, Memphis, and when the war began, he was serving the Church of the Advent, Nashville. Not long after he had accompanied the "Rock City Guards" to Bull Run, Quintard became a full-fledged Confederate chaplain, and in addition to his regular duties, served as an assistant surgeon. He reluctantly accepted this extra duty, but was the kind of man who never refused a call to be a physical, as well as spiritual, healer. It was not uncommon for him to be occupied with wounded and dying soldiers for many hours at a time. In the field, he nursed those too seriously hurt to be moved—and during ministerial visits to makeshift hospitals, he helped dress their wounds.

Ministering to men's bodies as well as to their souls, Quintard even acted as an undertaker after the bloody Battle of Franklin. He collected bodies of several generals, secured coffins, and conducted Episcopalian burial rites near St. John's Church.

After the war, former Chaplain Quintard succeeded James Otey as bishop of Tennessee. Consecrated at St. Luke's Church, Philadelphia, 1865, he immediately began to re-establish the University of the South at Sewanee. For his contribution to Sewanee he received honorary degrees from Columbia and Cambridge Universities. For his contribution to the men of his old regiment, he received the heartfelt thanks of former private Sam R. Watkins who wrote a book in 1882. "He was one of the purest and best men I ever knew," Watkins testified.

Quintard was not the only outstanding man among Confederate chaplains. Letters from lonely soldiers tell of many others. One said his chaplain was a "polite, affable, polished gentleman, a good scholar, and, better than all, a sincere Christian." Another wrote that Thomas D. Witherspoon, one of the few to serve throughout the entire conflict, was "devoted, untiring, self-sacrificing and efficient." And Chaplain John C. Granbery was described as "almost perfect."

Quintard was one of four Episcopalian chaplains of the Confederacy who became bishops. These, and many others like them, were a far cry from the egoists, the promoters, the incompetents, the imposters—those few little men who called themselves chaplains and served only their own selfish ends. The cavalryman who wrote about the ideal chaplain was not, like Quintard, an Episcopalian. But this was the manner of man about whom he spoke. Men like Quintard were truly "incarnations of their theologies," and their creeds were no "mere mortal elaborations."

5. *SUPPLIES WITH WHICH TO FEED THE FLOCK*

As might be expected, southern Protestants from 16,000 churches outnumbered Roman Catholics from 253 churches during Civil War days, about 5,160,000 to 124,000.

Among Protestants, Methodist membership stood highest at about 2,000,000 with the Baptists not far behind. Presby-

terians were next with over 700,000, while Episcopalians trailed with approximately 193,000. There were about 113,000 Disciples of Christ in the South during the Civil War, and —among other groups—10,000 members of the German Reformed Church. Because it was usual for both preacher and priest to serve more than one congregation at a time, the ratio of civilian to military ministers is not known. But there were thirty Roman Catholic chaplains, who often ministered to the dying of both sides, compared to over 500 Protestants. Southern laws did not forbid Jewish chaplains, but none appears on the records.

Methodists also led among Protestants in total number of chaplains. Dominant in any group, they outnumbered Baptists 200 to 100, even though the two denominations were about the same size. At the same time, the Presbyterians, a smaller denomination, furnished as many chaplains as did the Baptists. The best proportionate representation came from the Episcopalians who furnished 65 chaplains. About 25 military ministers came from Protestant groups other than these four.

Baptist chaplains thus did not serve officially in proportion to their denominational strength. But many Baptist preachers fought in the ranks, and may have influenced troop sentiment in their direction. In the Georgia brigade revival, for instance, 120 out of 180 converts joined the Baptist church. The ironical fact is that this revival was led by four Methodists—and no Baptists. A similar story is told of an Alabama regiment where only one Baptist chaplain served. Out of 200 converts in that regiment, 120 became Baptists.

The cavalryman who wrote about the ideal chaplain was a Presbyterian. He was also an educated person, and his denomination—like Quintard's—believed in an educated ministry. Academic preparation for Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and Roman Catholic clergymen was extensive, and this group made up one third of the Southern chaplaincy.

Chaplain Quintard had studied under a bishop in Memphis, but only because he came to the priesthood from another pro-

fession. Virtually all other Episcopalian chaplains of the Confederacy had done their academic work at Virginia Theological Seminary, while Roman Catholics had studied in northern institutions and abroad. Two seminaries, one in Virginia and one in South Carolina, had served the southern Presbyterians.

In contrast, the Baptists—definitely opposed to an educated clergy, even after the Civil War—faced a paradox during the early days of their Southern Convention. Their antieducation stand was inconsistent with the fact that a number of Baptist colleges had been founded in at least ten southern states prior to Secession. These colleges, offering both "literary and theological" education, had been established specifically for the purpose of training ministers. Strong Baptist feelings against education were emphasized by the short history of Southern Baptist Seminary in South Carolina. Opened with 26 students in 1859, it closed for good in 1862. Records do not indicate how many Baptist chaplains had taken advantage of their meager academic opportunities. But chances are that highly educated Baptist chaplains were few indeed.

At the same time, Methodist ministers in Civil War days were not absolutely opposed to education, but were somewhat suspicious of it. To some in this group, theological education manufactured preachers, invited the fetters of denominationalism, created caste, and cooled devotion. As a result, the Methodists owned more than 100 colleges in 1858, but—until the Civil War—not a single seminary. Their seminaries did not appear in the South until after the war.

Nevertheless, the Methodist *Discipline* of 1784 had directed ministers to study five hours a day, and while the first General Conference of Methodism did not deem a college education essential, it did indicate that a minister of the gospel should have an "ardent desire for useful knowledge."

Long before 1861, Methodist ministerial candidates were following a course of reading and study suggested by their General Conference. But Methodist chaplains in the Civil War were reported to be variously qualified. Thomas J. Eatman, for

instance, was said to be "an acceptable preacher," while John C. Granbery was "distinguished at once for his genius and education." Reflecting a growing emphasis on education within Methodism, William H. Browning, a dutiful chaplain, wrote in 1864 that Tennessee chaplains had long felt the need of literary supplies "with which to feed the flock."

6. *THE FRUIT OF HIS SERVICE*

What manner of man, then was the Confederate chaplain? How well did he measure up to what the North Carolina cavalryman expected of him?

The Confederate chaplain must be judged partly upon his individual merit, but his composite impression is interesting. For the most part, he was fiercely loyal to the South, usually a young Protestant, and more than likely, a native Southerner. But he may have been unfaithful, over fifty, a Roman Catholic, or—like Quintard—an adopted son. If he was a native Southerner, chances are good that he came from Virginia, North Carolina, or Tennessee, in that order. But if he came from Tennessee, he may have been a Cherokee Indian serving a battalion of his own people, conducting services in their native tongue.

The Confederate chaplain may have had some trouble getting his commission, or his entrance into the service may have been smooth. He may have received help from friends already on the "inside," from a commanding officer, a politician. He may have served first as a chaplain of a state militia, or he may have come up through the ranks.

More than likely, he had been a minister in civilian life, but he was variously educated and had a wide range of abilities and inabilities. In short, he was human, but he was beset with certain problems peculiar to the military ministry: problems of legislation and official attitudes; problems of deciding what his duties were; problems of a nomadic congregation; problems of an adequate meeting place; problems of ministering continuously to the wounded and the dying.

The story of how well the Confederate chaplain measured up to what the North Carolina letter writer expected of him is largely the story of the things the chaplain did; the goals he set, the reception he got. Did the troops look up to him, have confidence in him, work with him? Did they listen to him, understand him? How seriously did they take his message?

How did the men react to Quintard, for instance, when on rare occasions he put on full clerical regalia to perform a wedding ceremony? The picture must have been quite different from the figure he cut as an assistant army surgeon. A nurse who reported one of Quintard's weddings was mostly interested in pricing Swiss muslin dresses worn by the bridal attendants, but she also mentioned how Quintard looked in his robe, and suggested that the event was rather formal.

A more humorous reporter told how nuptials by a "Texas parson" were barked out like close order drill: "Close up!" he commanded, and the couple moved closer together. "Hand to your partner." And the couple clasped hands. "Attention to orders." And everybody "attentioned." The parson pronounced them man and wife for the duration, said they should apply later for a grant of public land, and pointed out their responsibility to "multiply and replenish" the earth.

Yet the chaplain's degree of formality does not necessarily prove anything. These things are matters of taste. The Confederate chaplain must be judged ultimately on the fruit of his collective service. Even though the Confederate chaplain sometimes did not measure up—was sometimes in the service for cowardly or selfish reasons—he was, to a surprising degree, successful. As the war continued, he solved more and more of his unique problems, gained in prestige, and was largely responsible for a great revival in the Confederate camp. In the final analysis, then, he can be said to have measured up.

CHAPTER II

THE GREAT REVIVAL

1. FOUR MILES OF PREACHING

A Yankee bullet strayed across the lines of the 49th Tennessee Regiment in the summer of 1864, and found the spot in a Georgia wood where Chaplain James McNeilly was holding a meeting. The sound of its firing lost in background noises, the bullet moved quietly and did its job efficiently. It passed through the head of one worshiper and lodged in the chest of another.

Sensing trouble, other members of the congregation stopped singing, turned slowly, and swayed instinctively toward their weapons. But when they saw the dead man and realized what had happened, their movement halted. They were surprised, but not overwhelmed. After all, soldiers in the act of worship had been shot before, and sometimes had even kept quiet about it until after the service.

This time, however, the meeting was stopped. The dead man was removed and the wounded man cared for. There was confusion for a few minutes, some rustling of foliage, a stoic whisper here and there. But the little drama made the men more reverent than before, and they soon settled down. They sat bunched beneath a pine tree and stared pensively at one another, as if in united wonder they could understand the mysterious something that separates life from death.

The incident was certainly grist for theological meditation. Why had God allowed this thing to happen? Did he not intervene to save the faithful? What about the men who owed

their lives to Bibles or wads of religious literature carried next to their hearts? Was this not providence? True, a pack of playing cards could also stop a bullet, but nobody had ever been saved by these instruments of the devil, or at least such a thing had never been reported.

Then someone stood up and recommenced the song. Others joined in, and Chaplain McNeilly preached that dismal day on the vivid text in each man's heart. His subject indicated doubts that God could be controlled through prayers or magic Bibles. His mood denied that God wore only the Confederate uniform,

or protected only those chosen Southerners who did not steal his devoted things.

A good Presbyterian, McNeilly offered no substitute for pain, no answer to the question of innocent suffering, but like Isaiah, he sought to comfort his people in their misery. He was a good comforter. His commanding officers later said that he was. But McNeilly suggested no magic formula, attempted no metaphysical answers. In a posture of worship rather than explanation, he talked simply to his men, tried to convey the bodiless idea of an unseen world, the mysterious beyond to which all men ultimately go, some more unexpectedly than others.

McNeilly was not the only chaplain to carry blessed assurance so close to the battle lines. Many brave chaplains preached in the trenches during the great revival, and souls were saved even as troops marched to battle. In a Virginia holding action, there were four miles of preaching on the banks of the Rappahannock. As reverent soldiers huddled in small groups along the breastwork, they put their trust in the Lord, and tearfully and prayerfully ignored occasional bombardments from across the river. During a more vigorous artillery duel at the foot of Atlanta's Peachtree Street, a Tennessee chaplain led a worship service within a few feet of a twenty-pound battery. The big guns pumped out barrage for barrage, but the chaplain boomed in competition, and the congregation listened intently.

2. *BEGINNINGS OF THE GREAT REVIVAL*

When the Yankee bullet strayed across the lines in the summer of 1864 and found the fatal spot where McNeilly was holding his meeting, the Confederate chaplain was no longer being ridiculed as a horse trader. He was by this time an important spiritual leader who performed many functions. He buried, baptized, and married. He visited his men close to the battle lines, led worship, founded religious organizations, distributed literature, held revivals. And through it all, he com-

forted his men, gave them a new outlook on life and death.

Before 1862 things had been different. During the first eighteen months of the war, Southern troops had virtually no contact with organized religion and only four revivals were recorded.

An anonymous Englishman was convinced he knew why organized religion during this period was so impotent. Abandoning typical British restraint, he categorically blamed the chaplains. He said chaplains serving before the big pay reduction were "long-jawed, loud-mouthed ranters," who were "termed for courtesy's sake ministers of the gospel." He also accused "most" chaplains of being no more than retired blacksmiths and woodchoppers who had found they could make more money in the army. He said they neglected their duties and could be counted on only at mealtime. He also accused chaplains of winking at "trifles" and displaying an unusual proficiency at the gentleman's game of poker.

While this irritated Englishman must be taken with a grain of salt, early chaplaincy standards admittedly were too low and did not improve until the weeding-out process of 1861-62. But low-caliber chaplains were not the only reason for religious inertia during the first eighteen months of the war. The condition was due partly to the fact that some chaplains did not measure up—partly to the confusion of beginning a government and organizing an army to protect it—but lack of religious interest was due mainly to a mistaken attitude almost everybody had about the war itself.

Southerners knew Secession meant risking war, but they did not believe the North would actually fight to preserve the Union. After Fort Sumpter, some even argued that Lincoln had cleverly "maneuvered" the South into attacking Federal troops so he could get the people of the North mad enough to fight.

The South as well as the North also had an unrealistic idea about how long the war would last. It took more than a year for Southerners to realize that the conflict would be long and tragic. Because of this attitude, needs for organizing long-

range religious programs for Confederate troops went unrecognized, and qualified men were not urged to become chaplains.

As late as the Battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862, there were only a few chaplains in military service. These men, however, were generally competent, and their estimates of how long the war would last were more realistic. Other sincere and conscientious ministers were gradually added to their number, and during the closing months of 1862, isolated revivals began to be reported throughout units of the Army of Northern Virginia, particularly in Jackson's corps.

The Army of Northern Virginia was commanded by General Robert E. Lee, an Episcopalian whose moral and spiritual stature resembled that of George Washington. As a matter of fact, Lee was married to Mary Parke Custis, a great granddaughter of Martha Washington, and Lee fit the principled aristocratic tradition very well. He could have lived out his life at ease in the North but when Secession came, he resigned from the Federal Army, abandoned the beautiful Arlington estate his wife had just inherited, and joined the South.

General T. J. Jackson was a Presbyterian and probably more "fanatically" religious than Lee. Dubbed "Stonewall" early in the war, he had a name for doing the impossible. Because his men could move so far and so fast, they were referred to as "Jackson's foot cavalry." Jackson was the kind of man the soldiers believed in because he was a man of faith. Jackson had the name for praying long prayers, even in the midst of a battle.

It was in Jackson's corps that soldiers were invariably summoned to kneel with their chaplain before a battle. Like civilian choirs before a Sunday service, they received the chaplain's blessing, but their mission was not to praise the Lord in song. As suggested by James Caldwell, the mood for these prayers was set by the dull thunder of big guns on the left; the crack of small arms fire, growing louder, on the right; the blue heavens above, the quiet greenness of nature all around; and in the middle of it all, sun-bronzed veterans

on their knees like boxers crossing themselves before the bell, girding their loins for a struggle with death.

Communion services also meant a great deal to the men who were contemplating death. Communion was looked upon as a means of grace, especially before a battle. Men of one fighting unit said they were so impressed by this solemn experience, they felt ready to receive the "great reviewing officer," should they immediately be marshalled before him. A North Carolinian wrote of communion that he had never "seene sutch a thing."

Episcopalians attempted to provide the rite of holy communion every day, and other denominations tried to follow their own customs. Baptists were inevitably concerned with the question of open communion. But since Jackson once personally served bread and wine to a strict and well-known member of that denomination, the Baptist conclusion must have been that under the circumstances, the Lord's Supper was a thing to be shared by all.

Given the strong nondenominational support of Lee and Jackson, it was only natural for religion to take hold first in the Army of Northern Virginia. The first group within Jackson's corps to be seriously affected by revivalism was Trimbell's brigade, including regiments from North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. The brigade that Jackson commanded before he became a corps leader also had a revival, and there was a religious awakening in Early's brigade, with other revival reports coming from Pickett's division.

A. Mathias Marshall, promoted from the ranks to the chaplaincy, was the most conspicuous figure in this early movement. With a Brother Nelson, he began a series of meetings shortly after Lee's Army returned from its invasion of Maryland, September 17, 1862. Sometimes such meetings lasted for fifty-five consecutive days, and veterans who had just emerged from bloody experiences responded to every type of religious service: preaching, Sunday school, prayer meetings, Bible classes, inquiries, exhortations, and singing meetings.

3. GOD'S BOXES

Lee and Jackson were not the only generals in the Army of Northern Virginia who were interested in religion. Another was William Pendleton, a former Episcopalian rector who was Lee's chief of artillery.

There were various reactions to the way General Pendleton's spurs clanked on the chancel when he sometimes took over Sunday preaching. One writer was decidedly unsympathetic. He said the clerical robe and the military uniform did not go together. While he approved of chaplains, he could not appreciate the mixing of military spurs with the doctrine of good will toward men. There was undoubtedly some ill will toward Pendleton himself for ordering his men to march to church.

Nevertheless, Pendleton promoted religion, and like many Confederate officers, helped chaplains overcome distractions and hardships. As the great revival began to catch on, ordinary soldiers helped too. They built log chapels for use in winter when fighting was at a standstill. These buildings were rectangular, about twenty by forty feet, with a pulpit at one end and a door at the other. Most chapels included from two to four fireplaces, were windowless, and the pulpit was on a platform facing benches divided by a center aisle. Sometimes a one-room shack adjacent to the chapel served as a parsonage.

The first log chapel was built early in the war by men of the 17th Virginia Regiment, but other units near Manassas also had chapels by the winter of 1861-62. Chapel construction picked up considerably during 1863-64 when Southern tactics called for holding actions. When troops moved to a new location their axes rang continuously for a week or more, building for the glory of God.

Chaplain Alexander D. Betts said in 1864 that the Army of Northern Virginia had fifteen chapels, with others in process, an increase of twelve over the previous winter. Near Savannah, Georgia, a bowling alley was converted into a chapel, and men of the 38th Georgia Regiment built a house of worship large

enough for 200 men. The 27th Georgia Regiment, like Moses in the Wilderness, carried a tent of worship with floor space equal to that of an average country church. But when troops of the 27th camped near a town, they saved themselves the trouble of pitching their tent by using a local house of worship instead.

As religious interest mounted, chapels began to burst at the seams, and had to be enlarged. An amazing enlargement project was reported from the Army of Tennessee, when one end of the building was removed and a 25-foot extension added. Within a week, more space was needed, so a similar extension was built on the other end. When attendance continued to increase, one side was knocked out and still more room added. The final product was a building 75 feet long and 60 feet wide. Seating more than a thousand, it was used morning and night for nearly three months.

Chapel construction reached its climax in the final winter of the war. According to one estimate every brigade between the Appomattox and James Rivers had a house of worship. The Second and Third corps of the Army of Northern Virginia had 37 chapels. Most of these accommodated from 300 to 500, and were usually crowded. In Pickett's Division, 12 chapels were completed during the winter of 1864-65, and subterranean chapels were spaced at half-mile intervals on the line of encampment.

4. "A REAL, WHOLE-SOULED, WORKING CHAPLAIN"

Early revivalism was confined to Confederate units in the east, and religious activity in this sector was greatly accelerated after the South shattered Burnside's superior forces at Fredericksburg, December 18, 1862. Between this date and the costly Southern victory at Chancellorsville, May 2-4, 1863, eastern action was confined to cavalry skirmishes, and chaplains took advantage of relative inactivity to promote the cause of Christ.

During this period, William B. Owen, chaplain of the 17th Mississippi Regiment, began revivals in Fredericksburg. Owen was a Methodist, but a Baptist chaplain who helped him was moved to describe the thirty-first day of their revival. He reported that about 75 penitent men confessed their sins that day. There had been 112 public professions of faith during the first 30 days of the meeting, with 100 others "still seeking the way of life." "It was a touching scene," the Baptist wrote, "to see the stern veterans of many a hard-fought field, who would not hesitate to enter the deadly breach or charge the heaviest battery, trembling under the power of Divine truth, and weeping tears of bitter penitence over a misspent life."

Owen usually baptized by "pouring," but his helper immersed those joining the Baptists. Special baptismal arrangements sometimes had to be made for converts choosing to join denominations not represented among co-operating revival leaders. Denominational papers carried regular reports on new baptisms, and some chaplains kept their own records. Most persons baptized by chaplains were soldiers, but records include some children and at least two women.

A Methodist reported baptizing five by pouring, and a Baptist immersed 82 in a creek near Orange Court House. Immersion usually attracted many witnesses. One chaplain cut a hole in the ice and immersed fourteen. A soldier wrote home that he "quit restin' to go see them baptized." Baptisms got to be such an everyday affair that they evoked a legend about two rival colonels always trying to outdo each other. When one heard that a revival had begun in the other's regiment, he ordered a revival of his own. Then he learned that 15 men in the other regiment had already been baptized. In response, he formed a special detail of 20 men and ordered them immersed immediately.

Another story was told about a soldier named Dock Knight. As Dock was about to be baptized, he saw a water moccasin in a tree. Unable to pronounce the name of the snake clearly, he said to the chaplain, "Don't you see that okerson?" The

question failed to register with the chaplain, and he kept urging Dock to a deep spot in the stream, directly under the snake. Finally, Dock jerked away and yelled, "Oh, dammit, don't you see that okerson?" Dock was in greater need of baptism than his chaplain had thought.

Regardless of denominational differences on things like baptism, Chaplain Owen was respected by the Baptist who wrote about him and the Fredericksburg revival. The Baptist described Owen as a "real, whole-souled, working chaplain," and said the army needed many more like him. That Owen was indeed among the "working" chaplains is proved by the way he died, not long after the Fredericksburg revival. He was on the battlefield gathering addresses of the Federal dead when his left arm was shattered by a minie ball. The elbow was resectioned, and under ordinary conditions, he would have lived. But privation in camp and ceaseless labor had lowered his resistance, and the injury proved fatal.

5. "BENEATH THE WINGS OF REJOICING ANGELS"

Revivalism spread unabatedly from Fredericksburg to neighboring camps. Spiritual awakenings were soon reported in brigades commanded by Barksdale, Lawton, Walker, Paxton, Hoke, Cobb, James, Parsley, Wilson, and Kershaw. Sermons and prayer meetings on the hour lasted from noon until late at night. Someone said prayer meetings were held in order to get ready to hold prayer meetings.

Converts from Jackson's corps numbered in the thousands, many being "saved" at great outdoor meetings. One of these meetings places was a large sloped clearing with log seats for some 2,000, and a platform at the lower end. Wire baskets were hung in a circle around the platform and were lined in front of the seats. They held chunks of light wood which burned in the night.

These were the quiet months, when death was not so close at hand, when Catholic candles burned in the subdued daylight of a wild forest, when Protestant fire lamps flickered on evening worshipers; when forest life chirped and croaked in a balmy night of early spring; when the full moon hung behind the outdoor sanctuary; when everything seemed to say in unison, "There is no war."

These were the times when pleasant background noises of the camp were noticed—the chopping of axes, the rattling of military wagons, the neighing of horses, the playing of brass bands, the singing of devout men on their way to worship. A few taps of the drum, a few strains of the bugle often brought the men together. They were sometimes called by a familiar hymn. One giant soloist used to stand beside his chaplain and sing the gathering song.

It was not unusual for Protestant meetings during this period to last three hours. Interest was so great that off-duty men came early in the afternoon to get a good seat. A soldier from Jackson's corps said of these meetings that the "order was perfect," that he knew of "no disturbance of any kind," and that attention to the words of the preacher "was never more faithful."

Many voices glorified God, but the most impressive revival voice belonged to the chaplain who sought deliverance for his people. His voice was even more impressive when the soldiers knew that he was the kind of man who could measure up on the blood-stained path of his regiment. The North Carolina cavalryman who wrote about the ideal chaplain had made a good point. Preaching was important, but the great revival required more of a man than ability to twist words around, to act out a great drama before an exclusive audience.

The successful chaplain began in very specific ways, through healing and comforting, to preach his gospel. His voice was made strong by his deeds. By the same token, he spoke not to women and children, but to men who could not be scared into religion. For this reason, revival meetings were not unduly

emotional or sensational. Holy barks, shouts, jerks, and other such accomplishments, which had typed American revivals since Jonathan Edwards, were virtually absent.

Nevertheless, some religious leaders who obviously had not built rapport with troops on the battlefield did use "questionable" techniques. A civilian clergyman reported of one meeting, for instance, that as "wicked men" came into the congregation or to the outskirts, they would be "suddenly stricken down and fall to earth and remain for hours speechless and apparently unconscious." One writer said that after preaching a shallow sermon, the minister would sing, shake hands, exhort, talk about the horrors of hell, the glories of heaven; and that as a result of such excitement everybody would join together and go forward. "This is called a revival," the critic concluded, and "the world is told there is a great religious interest in the camp."

Revival preaching was, of course, not on a high intellectual plane, but at the same time conversion "techniques" were more-or-less orthodox, emotional, to be sure, but not completely wild. Aside from the fact that male congregations tended to control emotionalism, a nondenominational atmosphere seemed almost automatically to restrain emotionally inclined ministers.

Religious and secular presses were quite excited about revivalism during the Fredericksburg to Chancellorsville period. A Richmond writer said such a movement had not been seen for years. His heart was gladdened by the list of converts, and he thought that both men and angels could rejoice over the moral sublimity which converts reflected. He concluded: "Pentecostal fire lights the camp, and the hosts of armed men sleep beneath the wings of angels rejoicing over many sinners that have repented."

Revivalism became even more intense after the victory at Chancellorsville and did not begin to cool until Gettysburg. During the winter of 1862-63, more than 15,000 soldiers confessed their sins, 300 during a single meeting, 100 at another, 500 a week in the Army of Virginia alone. Just after Chan-

cellorsville, the chaplain of the 26th Alabama Regiment said his unit averaged 100 converts a week for several weeks. Another chaplain declared: "Modern history presents no example of an army so nearly converted." In addition to such reports, a marked improvement in moral conditions prevailed.

Gettysburg and Vicksburg dampened the ardor of the South, but not the spirit of the revival movement. Revivals would, of course, lose steam during active campaigns, but they regained momentum when units paused for rest and reorganization. But even though battles interfered with regular meetings, many soldiers were converted on marches and in battle positions. Scattered reports of evangelistic campaigns in the trenches appeared throughout the summer of 1863, and revivals continued unabated in hospitals. In midsummer of 1863, a Richmond hospital chaplain reported the greatest revival he had ever witnessed.

Spiritual enthusiasm reached a climax in camps along the Rapidan during the winter of 1863-64, and it is this phase of Confederate evangelistic efforts that has become known as "The Great Revival."

During the fall, winter, and spring preceding Grant's attack in May, 1864, the revival reached its greatest heights in the Army of Northern Virginia. It spread from company to regiment, regiment to brigade, brigade to division, division to corps. Soldiers were converted by the thousands every week. And a Virginia chaplain reported almost universal interest in the meetings. He estimated 500 converts a week, and voiced the need for many more experienced chaplains.

General John B. Gordon thought these revivals formed a "most remarkable and important chapter in the history of the war." He said the very woods and rocks "rang with appeals to holiness."

6. *DALTON: THE SPIRITUAL BIRTHPLACE OF THOUSANDS*

Revivalism was not confined in 1863-64 to the Army of Northern Virginia. It moved west. Despite a discordant note

here and there—some feeling that adverse circumstances kept the revival spirit down—secular and religious newspapers referred to conversions in all units. Meeting reports read like a roster of the Confederate Army, and a jubilant Presbyterian declared that the Army of Tennessee was under a spirit of revivalism quite like that of the Army of Northern Virginia.

The Western revival movement began late, partly because units in this area were more mobile. Western troops did not have much time to participate in religious services. Also, the supply of chaplains was not as great in the West, and the generals there were not as attentive to religious matters as were Lee, Jackson, and Pendleton. One writer blamed Western lack of religious activities on a dearth of religious literature, a rather unconvincing argument.

With a little time in camp and an increase in chaplains, Western revivalism began to stir. As in the East, the movement was organized by chaplains. Some of the leaders west of the Appalachians were: N. B. DeWitt, 8th Tennessee Regiment; Tilman Page, 52nd Tennessee Regiment; William H. Browning, Wright's Brigade; S. M. Cherry, 4th Tennessee Regiment; P. A. Johnson, 38th Mississippi Volunteers; James H. McNeilly, 49th Tennessee Regiment; S. C. Talley, 2nd Tennessee Cavalry; and George L. Winchester, 6th Tennessee Regiment.

The Western revival reached its climax at Dalton, Georgia, when the army, then under General Joseph E. Johnson, went into winter quarters in 1863. Until May, 1864, meetings at Dalton grew, and there were large and appreciative crowds who prayed for great things.

Chaplain A. D. McVoy said he had never seen a better field for preaching the gospel, and Evangelist John B. McFerrin reported that in all his life, he had never witnessed more "displays of God's power in the awakening and conversion of sinners." Chaplains of all denominations participated in the Dalton revivals. They lived, ate, marched, and suffered beside the soldiers to whom they preached. They were aided by missionaries who helped them visit the wounded and distribute

religious literature. Doing their part to support the movement, soldiers erected stands, improvised seats, and built log churches where they "worshipped God in spirit and in truth." These facilities went unused only four nights during the long Dalton encampment.

Results at Dalton were "glorious." Thousands were "happily converted" and "prepared for the future that awaited them." Dalton revivals touched officers and enlisted men alike. One chaplain said work there had no parallel. "In the coldest and darkest nights of the winter," he reported, "the crude chapels were crowded and at the call for penitents, hundreds would come down in sorrow and tears." He said that Dalton "was the spiritual birthplace of thousands."

However, even though Western reports were enthusiastic, they fell short of those from Lee's Army. Western units did not have nearly as many chaplains and this made the difference. One minister who worked in both sections felt the Army of Tennessee compared favorably with General Lee's troops in point of moral and religious character, but he said the West needed many more faithful chaplains.

Flanking movements of Grant against Lee and Sherman against Johnson began in May, 1864. This action slackened revival activity in the East and subdued it in the West. As the desperate Petersburg struggle drew to a close, Pickett's division reported an unusual number of conversions, and one soldier said a stranger would have no trouble concluding that the Confederate army was very religious. There were log churches every six or eight hundred yards, and revivals in Lee's Army continued until the very end of the war. Brigades most seriously affected by this final cycle were led by Philip Cook, Joseph Davis, William McRae, and Edward Thomas.

But by the time the Yankee bullet strayed across the lines in the summer of 1864 to find the spot where Chaplain James McNeilly was holding a meeting, Dalton had come and gone. Only a few chaplains in the West had withstood the winter campaign. Far too many of the McNeilly's companions had

resigned and gone home. As one observer put it, the Western revival began and ended with the Dalton meetings.

A natural question about religion among Confederate when there was no such movement in the North?" A closer troops is, "Why was there a religious awakening in the South look at Chaplain James McNeilly may partially answer this question.

CHAPTER III

A CLOSER LOOK AT McNEILLY

1. HELP FROM OUTSIDE

Because they haven't looked too closely at chaplains like James H. McNeilly, experts have never quite decided what caused the great religious awakening among Confederate troops.

Reasons, of course, have been given. Bell I. Wiley, for instance, has argued that the Southern revival movement resulted from (1) evangelistic activities of civilian churches; (2) revival type backgrounds of Southern troops; (3) a series of defeats that made Confederates feel dependent on the Almighty; and (4) the day-in day-out facing of death on the battlefield.

Wiley's analysis is true as far as it goes. That is, these four factors were present in Southern armies. The big argument against Wiley is that these same factors were present in the North. Northern soldiers were also conditioned by aggressive denominational activity, and Northern soldiers had revival backgrounds. They also suffered defeats, and like the Confederates, they faced death every day.

In addition, emotionalism among Southern ministers was not nearly as extreme as it was in the North. One Northern chaplain even immersed a cannon in a solemn baptismal ceremony. Yet no religious movement spread through Federal armies similar to the one which swept the Confederacy.

It is true that Confederate revivals had help from outside, as well as from sympathetic officers and active converts. As

evangelistic meetings increased in number and intensity, chaplains called for reinforcements. There simply were not enough preachers to do what needed to be done. Young and inexperienced chaplains were eager to have the help of older ministers, and appeals were made for the ablest leaders civilian churches could provide.

As might be expected, "Stonewall" Jackson led the campaign for civilian help. In a letter to the Presbyterian General Assembly, he said prominent ministers from every denomination, "distinguished for their piety, talent and zeal," should make themselves available. Southern churches, especially Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, responded well. Among the more publicized evangelists who answered Jackson's call were John B. McFerrin, Methodist; Joseph C. Stiles and Moses Hoge, Presbyterian; and John A. Broadus, Baptist.

For a number of years before the Civil War, John B. McFerrin had served as a missionary to the Cherokee Nation, as presiding elder, and as editor of the *Christian Advocate*. He was a book agent for the Southern Methodists when the war broke out. Because he had a traveling job, it was easy for him to visit military units.

A native of Savannah, Georgia, Evangelist Joseph Stiles studied law at Yale before entering Andover Theological Seminary. Ordained in 1826, he became a Presbyterian missionary in Florida and Georgia, where he revived old churches and built new ones. In addition to being an evangelist, Stiles was general agent in the South for the American Bible Society.

Moses Hoge was another distinguished Presbyterian at the time of the Civil War. Regarded as the most eloquent pulpit personality in the Southern Presbyterian Church, he was also well known for having run the Federal blockade to get Bibles and religious literature from England. Among those who cordially favored Hoge's application to the British and Foreign Bible Society was the Earl of Shaftesbury, who helped him with his project. Hoge later delivered an oration in Richmond at the unveiling of a statue of "Stonewall" Jackson. Erected

in 1875, this statue was presented to Virginia by several English gentlemen.

John A. Broadus, a graduate of the University of Virginia served as pastor of the First Baptist Church of Charlottesville while teaching ancient languages at his alma mater. He was also chaplain of the University until 1859 when he was instrumental in establishing the Southern Baptist Seminary at Greenville, South Carolina. When the Seminary closed during the early days of the war, Broadus became secretary of the Baptist Sunday School Board. After the war he helped reopen the Baptist Seminary in Louisville, 1877, and was its president.

Even though men of such caliber assisted in the great revival, final responsibility for the movement rested with the chaplains. Outside help was often not available when it was needed most, the number of missionaries working among Confederate troops seldom exceeded twelve, and during one army-wide wave of evangelism, only two outside ministers participated.

Confederate chaplains—men like McNeilly—probably deserve more credit for the religious awakening in the Southern army than they have been given. They were the organizers and directors of revivals, often served as evangelists for other units, and sometimes pooled their talents for a series of brigade meetings. When chaplains were few, as in the West, religious awakenings were virtually nonexistent.

2. "THAT FATAL, AWFUL HOUR"

McNeilly knew it took imagination and hard work to be a good chaplain. Legislation prescribed no specific duties for the military minister; soldiers kept moving from place to place; the need to survive was often more fully recognized than the need to contemplate eternity; and there were a hundred other distractions. But because McNeilly had imagination and was willing to work hard, the men listened to him when he evangelized in the trenches, as well as when he preached behind the lines in Dalton.

Said another way, McNeilly was successful because he "visited." He visited on the battlefields, in hospitals, in prisons, and sought out his men at their mess tents. He distributed literature, offered prayer, gave counsel, and stood before God with the condemned. He knew that those who went "very little among the privates" secured only slight hold on their confidence and made no mark upon them.

Before the battle, McNeilly always shouldered some medical supplies—a canteen of whiskey, a bottle of morphine, a roll of bandages—gathered his men around him for a prayer, accompanied them to the point where they deployed as skirmishers, and there joined the surgeon and other chaplains. Like preachers waiting at the mouth of an ill-fated coal mine, they stood and watched. McNeilly knew the wounded would soon be there, that some would accept their fate quietly, would smile as if to comfort *him.* But others, in various states of shock, would irrationally refuse his hand of comfort, and moan uncontrollably for their loved ones. He would see others carried unconscious to the rear.

During these times of waiting, McNeilly compared notes with other chaplains. The scene might be imagined as follows:

McNeilly stood beside a Catholic priest in a clump of trees atop a Georgia knoll. They saw the smoke of side arms and small guns spurting from foliage along the edge of a field below. A battle was beginning. The men would soon be out in the open.

Because chaplains of his faith were few, the Catholic traveled from unit to unit. Having just arrived from another sector, he had never seen McNeilly before, but the two men had the battle in common and soon began to talk. The Catholic gave some fresh information about other action, analyzed the situation from a broad perspective. He was reserved, had been educated in Europe, had lived many years in the North. One of his main purposes on the front lines was to administer the rite of extreme unction. He planned to go out on the field during the truce called for the purpose of re-

moving bodies. He planned to perform last rites for all Catholics he could find out there. He would be able to recognize them by crucifixes around their necks, or—if they had died more slowly—crucifixes clasped tightly in their hands.

McNeilly was a bit more talkative, and certainly more personally involved in local action. He had stood behind the same troops before. He knew the men by name, knew many of their families, had written to their home churches. He was a native Southerner, had grown up with some of the men in his unit. Partly because of personal involvement, he puzzled just a little bit about his strange Roman Catholic counterpart. He puzzled especially about the meaning of extreme unction. Above all, why did the Catholic chaplain have to stand over dead Yankees on the battlefield and make the sign of the cross? That was something McNeilly couldn't figure.

Having been brought up to date on happenings in other sectors, McNeilly changed the subject. With the matter of extreme unction still in the back of his mind, he started a conversation about the haunting problem of death. Again, he took the initiative. He groped for ways to express what he felt, and what he said was not too meaningful to the Catholic. He tried to say something about his approach, that it was different from extreme unction, that the war was terrible, but that the comfort he gave was not in vain.

McNeilly was a modest man and didn't get these points over too well, but he did emphasize the fact that his friends and neighbors on the battlefield were dying honorably. That was more than could be said for others. A few in his unit had been spies and deserters. Some of these had been caught and executed. McNeilly had visited them in prison, had gone with them right up to the gallows, had held religious exercises at that "fatal, awful hour." Such a thing was hard to do, especially when the deserter was a former neighbor.

Somehow, McNeilly believed, that type of death was worse than death on the battlefield. Entirely too many men were deserting. McNeilly had heard that John Paris, 54th North

Carolina Regiment, attended twenty-two executions in a single month. After that, Paris preached many times on the ruinous and sinful crime of desertion. How could anybody who professed to be a Christian be guilty of such treason and perjury? That was one of the questions Paris asked. Paris also told of baptizing some of the condemned as they were led from prison, of how others were penitent at the very last minute. Paris preached about these experiences in order to open the eyes of the living.

In passing, McNeilly also mentioned Francis M. Kennedy. Chaplain of the 28th North Carolina Regiment, Kennedy took a different approach from that of Paris. He went to Richmond with a petition and tried unsuccessfully to gain a presidental pardon for a man he believed to be innocent. McNeilly told the Catholic how General Junius Law had been enraged by Kennedy, how he threatened to court-martial him for leaving camp without permission. But McNeilly said that Law soon settled down, and later even commended Kennedy quite highly.

The conversation between McNeilly and the Catholic chaplain ended when the wounded men began to arrive.

3. *A BASKET FULL OF BIBLES*

After doing what he could to assist the surgeon, McNeilly would retire behind the lines to take stock of things. He would write some long and difficult letters—to Nashville, Atlanta, Richmond to the survivors of those who had been killed—giving details of how it all happened; resporting last words of the deceased; consoling the relatives; and offering an interpretation of eternal life. One chaplain got to know his men through keeping records on them. He wrote down such items as name, age, address, church, marital status. Such information came in handy after a battle.

Bodies were collected as soon as possible after the fighting stopped. The chaplain on the line took care of formalities, and full military honors came later. Hospital chaplains spent a great deal of time arranging burials and helping religious

periodicals compile their somber death notices. General Jackson, of course, was very co-operative with the religious press on this type of coverage. So was General Leonidas Polk.

Good records also helped chaplains write shorter, happier notes like, "He was wounded but has good hospital care, and will recover soon." While duties of ordinary chaplains depended largely on individual imagination and conscience, hospital chaplains had opportunity to carry on a more regular and systematic type of ministry. Even though they spent a great deal of time arranging burials, they also conducted devotions, read to the patients, generally made things comfortable, and, of course, did some revival preaching.

A tremendous amount of religious literature was available for distribution among the troops, and hospitalized veterans got their share of this material. The Southern Baptist Convention in a single year provided 6,187,000 pages of tracts and 6,000 Bibles. In less than a year, the Methodists circulated 17,000,000 pages of tracts and 20,000 Bibles. From May, 1863, through March of the following year, Presbyterians produced more than 6,000,000 pages of such religious material. In addition, several independent publishers were at work on the same type of project. A Federal chaplain said in 1863 that Southern troops had more Bibles than did the soldiers of the North.

Most chaplains did not consider distribution of tracts to be their primary job, but they did spend a great deal of time at it. Passing out religious newspapers, periodicals, tracts, and Bibles was something they could do any time. Religious literature was popular. The supply was great, but so was the demand. Confederate soldiers must have read religious publications instead of funny books, for word that a new supply had just arrived could even break up a card game. Until his basket of Bibles was depleted, the chaplain would be so surrounded he could scarcely move.

The least that could be said of religious tracts was that they were good conversation pieces. They gave the chaplain an excuse for visiting, were something upon which the wounded

soldier and his spiritual adviser could focus, a conversation and sometimes a conversion, starter. In some cases, the literature stood alone. Its effectiveness did not necessarily depend upon the way some chaplain interpreted it. A Baptist chaplain in Virginia, for instance, claimed 100 conversions in his regiment were due in part to independent reading of religious tracts. One soldier went to his chaplain with a tract in his hand and tears flowing down his cheeks. "My parents have prayed for me, and wept over me," he said, "but it was left for this tract to bring me, a poor convicted sinner, to the feet of Jesus."

Struck by such results, several Protestant chaplains actually resigned their commissions to become colporteurs. One eminent minister said the chaplain's primary duty was to distribute religious literature in military hospitals, that conducting worship services was secondary to the very important activity of talking with the wounded about their faith.

Hospitals provided an excellent counseling opportunity. The feeling was that when soldiers were afflicted, they "were more susceptible of good impressions than when in camp." In other words, chaplains were called on to give as much "good advice" to the wounded as they could squeeze in while narrow scrapes with death were fresh in mind.

Chaplains were, of course, not concerned with later arguments about the best way to give such advice. Nobody had ever thought to question the more-or-less assumed direct approach. The chaplain of the 46th North Carolina Regiment, for instance, thought of each tent as housing a family of six or eight men "constrained" to listen respectfully to "counsel and good advice" given by their chaplains.

Although nobody objected to the "direct method," line chaplains were probably nondirective in their hearts, and taught Christian ethics by example as well as by bedside homily. Civilian-life friendships, of course, helped make chaplains "concretely" concerned with their men's problems, made them genuinely sympathetic and undestanding. Because McNeilly showed more than "abstract" sympathy, because he was genuinely sympathetic and understanding, he was effective. The great revival gained momentum because it was promoted by chaplains like McNeilly.

4. REGIMENTS DEMORALIZED BY CHURCHES

After several months in prison, a Confederate soldier returned to his old outfit. Glad to be free, he walked around the camp visiting friends. But he hadn't gone very far when he

exclaimed, "What's the matter? Has all the regiment been converted?" Results of the great revival were quite evident. Everybody had stopped swearing.

About twenty-two years later, former Chaplain J. William Jones published *Christ in the Camp.* In preparing this book, Jones studied several documents carefully—minutes of chaplain association meetings, diaries and evaluations of chaplains, religious newspapers, and reports of visiting preachers—and came to the conclusion that souls of 45,000 Confederate soldiers were converted during four years of war, with one third of these coming from Lee's army.

In the same year Jones published his book, former Chaplain William W. Bennett, in *A Narrative of the Great Revival,* estimated the number of converts at almost 150,000. Jones admittedly was too conservative and Bennett undoubtedly exaggerated. Religious publications of 1864 gave estimates of about 140,000 conversions weighting the evidence slightly to ward the high side, but even if one should split the difference between Jones and Bennett, he might feel justified in agreeing with the Baptist colporteur who wrote: "Modern history presents no example of armies so nearly converted into churches as the armies for southern defense."

The spiritual about-face of Confederate soldiers was so marked that one chaplain said the great revival caused the army to begin praying on behalf of churches, that as a matter of fact, the church had lost the spirit of prayer and needed what spiritual guidance the army was able to render. An Alabama chaplain added: "Talk about the army demoralizing the church—I don't know any church that wouldn't demoralize my regiment!"

Better prayer habits among Confederate soldiers were not the only improvements attributed to revivalism. Silas D. Davenport, a hospital chaplain in Texas, said that after a revival in his brigade the men put away their playing cards and stopped swearing. He noticed that even those who had not gone to the altar also seemed changed.

Other reports showed more respect for women and children; more honesty; and card playing, swearing, and drinking depreciated by the puzzling estimate of "more than 100%." In addition, some revival effects were permanent. It was during the great revival that Generals Bragg, Ewell, Hood, and Joseph E. Johnson entered the church, and that soldiers made decisions to enter the ministry. An 1866 report from Baptist colleges and seminaries showed about 60 former soldiers pursuing theological courses.

Another permanent effect of the great revival is implied in the way soldiers returned to their home churches after the war "more religious than when they went away." Some historians even argue that Confederate veterans patiently endured postwar indignities and hardships largely because of religious experiences during the war.

The final years of the Civil War were thus marked by many meetings, conversions, baptisms, and log chapels. These were tangible things that could be measured. Various organizations—army churches, Christian societies or associations, Bible study groups, and Sunday schools—also reflected spiritual progress among Confederate troops.

Promoted by chaplains, religious organizations in military units were usually nondenominational, but their emphasis was orthodox. They accepted the Bible as the authoritative word of God; believed in the trinity, the fall of Adam, redemption through Christ, the renewing of the Holy Spirit; and stressed justification by faith alone.

Even though these doctrines gave no final answer to the problem of death, some of them dealt effectively with the fighting man's problem. They advised the soldier to admit his sin and not to question the justice of God. They also claimed that man could do nothing at all to further his own salvation, that redemption was through faith in Christ alone. As witnessed by increased religious activities during the war, these doctrines must have impressed Confederate troops.

General Lee's army had the largest number of churches,

all strictly nondenominational. But denominational churches, mainly by the Baptists, were also organized. Some of the units having Baptist churches were: The 14th Texas Regiment, the Cherokee Regiment, Terry's Texas Rangers, and the brigades of Finley and Gibson.

About two hundred men belonged to the Christian societies that were most active, an average of fifty less than the membership of a typical army church. The purposes of Christian societies were to promote fellowship; to aid the sick and the wounded; to help distribute religious literature; and to curtail swearing, gambling, and quarreling. The 21st Georgia Regiment had the first known Christian society in the Confederate army.

Bible study groups usually assembled on Sunday afternoon and were conducted by chaplains. Attendance was good and interest was high. A thousand soldiers attended classes organized in each brigade of Loring's Division. General Winfred Featherstone was so enthusiastic he offered the services of his private ambulance to transport Bible study books.

It is perhaps easy to overestimate the effects of the great revival. But the least that can be said is that as the Civil War progressed, Confederate troops became increasingly religious, and the part chaplains played in the great revival was important. The chaplain would not have been half as effective if he had not been willing, like McNeilly, to carry a message of comfort to front-line troops. Thus, when the Yankee bullet strayed across the line in the summer of 1864 and found the place where McNeilly was holding the meeting, the chaplain was looked up to as a man, and soldiers were interested in what he had to say. Without men like McNeilly, the great revival would not have happened.

CHAPTER IV

WHO IS ON THE LORD'S SIDE?

1. SERMONS PLAIN AND PRACTICAL

Chaplain Henry A Wise was tall, nervous, had bad eyes, and squinted when he preached.

Wise also had principles, and for this reason his strong Southern convictions suddenly came to light one Sunday morning in 1861 while he was leading a worship service. He could have stayed on a little longer as rector of an Episcopalian church in Philadelphia if he hadn't been so stubborn. He would have been forced out sooner or later, because he wasn't the kind of man who could keep quiet forever. As things happened, there wasn't much else for him to do but pack himself right out of the church without even bothering to preach the sermon he had brought with him. In fact, the congregation insisted he do just that.

Wise actually brought trouble on himself that morning by deliberately leaving out a customary prayer for the President of the United States. The congregation knew the rector's background, knew he was the son of a former Virginia governor, had suspected his sentiments before, but now they knew definitely. By the time the omission became apparent, an alert parishioner was on his feet demanding that Lincoln be appropriately blessed. Wise refused. The congregation sided with the parishioner. Wise walked out of the church, and soon left Philadelphia.

The soldier who described the figure Wise later cut as a Confederate chaplain was quite perceptive. He said that even

though Wise spoke a shade too softly, his sermons were put together well. He thought Wise was effective, not because he was pleasant, but because he was peculiar. A large mouth and unpleasant mannerisms seemed to make him strangely eloquent.

Regardless of accuracy, this description indicates that even though the chaplain was a man of many duties, he was primarily a pulpit personality, often evaluated by questions such as these: Does he have resonance, personality, fluency? Is he a good offhand speaker? Does he preach earnestly and appropriately? Is he consistently good? Does he wear well? Or, negatively, does he speak much more loudly than necessary? Does he whine and gasp his sermons out?

The Confederate soldier took sermon content seriously. As a matter of fact, he considered it a sin not to be able to quote the chaplain's text. But when it came to writing letters home about the new preacher in camp, it was easier to describe style than to evaluate content. One critic, for instance, noted bad pronunciation and grammar (*parentual* instead of *parental; have came* instead of *have come*), but made no comment about his chaplain's subject. Another reported a good chaplain in his unit by the name of Tracy, but said of him, "He can't preach much."

It was, of course, impossible to please everybody. Many soldiers liked to hear a chaplain who would let go and roar at them. If a chaplain didn't roar, he wasn't really preaching. On the other hand, some soldiers preferred reserved discourses, and frowned on overly dramatic presentations.

Nevertheless, the Confederate chaplain's prevailing style was evangelistic, and almost every worship service centered around preaching. The uneducated clergy gave the most stress to preaching, but Episcopalians, Lutherans, and Roman Catholics also preached. Even when chaplains went to the trenches, and some were criticized for not going often enough, they gathered small groups around them and preached the gospel. The Confederate soldier talked about "going to preaching,"

not about "attending a worship service," and when there was no preaching, the soldier wrote home about his disappointment. The Confederate soldier's eagerness to listen should not be underestimated. He listened with deep interest when he was allowed—as he usually was—to attend services voluntarily.

Not all congregations were large, especially during the early part of the war, but as a general rule, it took only a few minutes to gather a crowd of men eager to hear the gospel preached. Attendance grew steadily as the influence of the great revival was felt.

Barring an occasional skirmish, Sunday in the Confederate army was officially holy. It was the chaplain's day to lead worship. Everybody understood this fact, even in the early days when chaplains were not so popular. Roman Catholic worship on Sunday consisted of Mass and usually a sermon. The Protestants were more informal. They met at no appointed hour, sometimes in the morning, sometimes in the afternoon. But as religious interest grew, most units began having two services on Sunday, and some included an afternoon extra. During final months of the war, most commands had daily worship.

Even though Sunday meetings became more and more popular, a few officers were markedly unsympathetic toward them. They did not come right out and say they disliked chaplains or religion. They just filled the day so full of busy work there was no time left for religious services. "I went over to see Willie last Sunday," a soldier wrote his mother, "and they were drilling just the same as any other day." In addition to drill and company dress parades on Sunday, unsympathetic officers also staged inspections of arms and equipment, as well as clean-up campaigns. Things got so bad in 1862 that General Bragg quieted protesting chaplains with an order for better observation of the holy day. Generals Lee and Forrest issued similar orders. As late as 1864, General Hood was petitioned on the same subject.

Unsympathetic officers became the exception rather than the rule, but Sunday worshipers were distracted in other ways, including picket firing and the enemy's long-range guns. The effect of the big guns was largely psychological. A soldier could listen intently to his chaplain near heavy action at the front lines, but an occasional shell in camp made him fidget. He was ready, if not willing, to die in battle, but the prospect of losing his life to a Sunday fluke made him uneasy.

It was not the actual firing of these guns that irritated the men, and the final explosion—unless it happened right in camp—wasn't so bad either. The men were irritated mainly by the noise overhead. As big shells moved through the air, they sounded like freight trains or giant furniture movers working in the sky. This made everybody jumpy, even though long-range guns of the period were not too accurate.

Sunday worshipers were also distracted by general camp odors and noises: rotting meat, bacon frying, yells of adjoining regiments, old-time fiddlers, and running horses. The weather was another frequent handicap. One group stood thirty minutes in a driving rainstorm to hear a sermon preached —and another, 14 of them barefoot, stood for the same purpose in the snow.

When soldiers went voluntarily to preaching, they were not easily distracted. They even listened politely to chaplains who preached poor sermons. One writer felt that Confederate soldiers showed much more deep religious interest than they had ever shown as civilians. Another was so impressed with how his companions flocked to meetings, he intimated that civilian ministers were wasting their time. Why should they preach to "little squads in the churches," he reasoned, when they could become chaplains and reach so many more souls?

The chaplain was thus thought of primarily as a proclaimer of the word of God, the leader of revivals. The sermon was his most effective and most used tool, and some, especially among Baptists and Disciples of Christ, considered preaching their sole function. They were called to preach to the

military and that was all.

Sermons were usually simple, sometimes criticized as appealing only to the "lower class of the regiment." But since preaching to the so-called lower classes had not bothered Jesus Christ, it did not bother the Confederate chaplain. Though quite elementary, his sermons were usually clear, logical, and earnest.

Because of his own educational limitations, the chaplain was not always able to be eloquent, even when the occasion demanded it. Recognition of the average soldier's low educational level undoubtedly caused even highly trained chaplains to keep their thoughts simple. Private Sam Watkins criticized one sermon for being so "high larnt" that only the generals could understand it. He said other officers perhaps caught a word now and then, but that the sermon in question merely dazzled the ordinary soldier. Another man from the ranks authenticated Watkins' testimony. He told his sister that plain and practical sermons were the only kind that did any good.

The average sermon was also brief, never more than a half hour, sometimes only fifteen minutes long. Youth and inexperience may have been the reason why short but appropriate sermons were the order of the day. The weather was perhaps a better explanation. Chaplain Milton Kennedy, for instance, once shortened his message to the 28th North Carolina Regiment because he could not bear to detain his congregation on the wet, cold ground.

Sometimes, especially during the great revival, more than one sermon was preached at a single meeting, and chaplains got a chance to hear each other. This usually happened inside, when a few ministers pooled their talents for brigade services, or when there was only one available chapel within a unit. Chaplains also heard members of their own group preach at professional meetings. A text on one such occasion was, "He went on his way rejoicing," and another was, "None of us liveth to himself." Both were quite appropriate.

2. "DIED OF WHISKEY"

Chaplain McNeilly was certainly a good comforter, but sometimes he made the 49th Tennessee Regiment squirm.

Like all chaplains worth their salt, he was outspoken when it came to things like gambling, swearing, and drinking. McNeilly, however, saved these preaching themes for camp. In the trenches, men needed comfort, and because he comforted them so well there, they didn't laugh behind his back when he later exhorted them to develop better personal habits.

Gambling must have been a vigorous activity. One soldier pyramided his pay to $5,000 in a solid week of card playing, and another amassed an estimated $15,000 in a slightly longer period. However, somebody had to lose, and many a young Confederate learned the hard way from sharpies waiting at the end of pay lines like "eagles about the carcass."

Stealing and desertion were also preaching themes, and not without reason. McNeilly blasted swearing more often than other bad habits, probably because this vice was so automatic and public. One sensitive soul even said the main trial of army life was not physical hardships; it was having to endure "abounding wickedness" among military men. He was irritated because soldiers seemed to utter oaths, almost unconsciously, every time they opened their mouths. Only a person without ears could have remained umblemished in such an atmosphere.

Nevertheless, Wilson's non-English speaking Zouaves allegedly shocked one pious chaplain by their strong-languaged innocence. The occasion was a pep talk by the colonel of this Louisiana regiment. He told his men that because every damned one of them might soon be in hell, they should heed the chaplain's advice. At this point, the colonel was good-naturedly interrupted from the ranks. "Three cheers for hell," an accented voice shouted, and the men echoed an enthusiastic three-fold response. When the chaplain looked bewildered, the colonel explained that his men thought hell was located somewhere

between Montgomery and New Orleans, and they were damned anxious to go there.

The chaplain may have smiled at Wilson's Zouaves, but not without some discomfort, because bad language was not to be winked at. It was symptomatic of deep evil in the soul. Good language might not guarantee one's entrance into heaven, but bad language would certainly keep one out. It was impossible to indulge in "horrid profanity" and be a Christian at the same time. This uncomplicated proposition was assumed as gospel truth, even by its most frequent violators.

Commanding officers reacted variously to antiprofanity chastisements. One colonel—the only man in his outfit who *didn't* swear—sought to avoid embarrassment by inviting a newly appointed chaplain to bunk with him. Another commanding officer did not defend profanity, but resented having the matter brought up in worship services. Arguing "unfair advantage," he swore never again to attend his chaplain's preaching.

McNeilly undoubtedly felt that drunkenness went hand-in-hand with profanity. Even though neither vice was unique to the Confederacy, the South's drinking problem was acute. A good portion of an estimated 64,000-gallon daily output of ardent spirits undoubtedly reached army personnel, and offcers, especially surgeons, were accused of drinking much more than their share. The lowly soldier escaped the charge of drunkenness, mainly because his supply was cinched by his alcoholic superiors.

Chaplains like McNeilly criticized officers, too. They preached against "official sins," and indicted many in responsible positions for being "scarcely ever sober." One observer believed the South owed many defeats to officer drunkenness—and another asserted that if the Confederacy lost the war, its epitaph should be, "Died of Whiskey."

Antivice sermons, of course, had some permanent influence —or at least drove bad habits underground. A commanding officer in Georgia said he could not name a single man in his outfit who used profanity, and a Virginia chaplain reported

"only three oaths in three months." But even though the great revival affected the conduct of military men in the South, the vices that bothered McNeilly were, in essence, occupational. He probably realized that conduct changes were slow and often temporary.

3. "AN EASY WAY TO GET TO HEAVEN"

McNeilly had a practical turn of mind. He didn't spend too much time arguing about such questions as how an infinite God proves that space is infinite, and—even though he certainly did not mean to belittle God—he could not get excited about which came first in time, the deity or space.

Strangely enough, the essential difference between McNeilly and the very few "theological" preachers was not that he was practical and that they were impractical. It was McNeilly's Calvinism that made him different. He did not believe that man could control God even through developing good personal habits. The theological preacher, on the other hand, tended to offer belief in an intellectual system as a means of salvation.

The chaplain who preached about God and space presented his argument somewhat as follows: Because God is infinite, he requires an infinite habitation. God inhabits space. Therefore, space is infinite. Furthermore, because God inhabits space, it quite possibly existed prior to God. Needless to say, this type of speculation was not necessarily relevant to what the fighting man was going through, and it was generally frowned upon. But the formula was practical in one sense. It promised the believer a passport. If the theological preacher was right, it was only practical to take his system seriously.

In one case, the magic formula was "Trust in the Lord." The argument was that since imperfect man cannot fulfill the law, the only thing left is trust. This much of the formula was not far from being orthodox. But the reasoning was carried further. If man would simply trust the Lord, he could otherwise do as he pleased and still receive St. Peter's blessing.

If McNeilly had guaranteed salvation simply through maintaining good habits, he might be classified among the magic-formula preachers. McNeilly undoubtedly shared part of the formula. He believed the fate of imperfect man rested with God, but he refused to take the second step in the argument. He saw man as very definitely accountable for his own sins, and thus gave no completely "systematic" answer.

The magic-formula mode of thought also infiltrated sermons of a few chaplains who could not admit that denominations were made by men rather than God. In spite of repeated non-denominational directives from Stonewall Jackson, some chaplains could not resist the temptation to rant about their sectarian "distinctiveness."

Soldiers could appreciate McNeilly's strong stand against bad habits because they liked McNeilly, and they could smile at original sermons by young and inexperienced theologians. But by and large, Confederate troops rebelled against the chaplain who insisted that a particular denomination offered the final answer. One soldier's tongue-in-cheek reaction to a sectarian sermon was that the preacher certainly knew "an easy way to get to heaven." This was exactly what the Confederate

soldier was looking for—an easy, or sure, way to get to heaven, an automatic formula to guarantee survival after death in battle. The fighting man remained largely unconvinced by speculative and dogmatic promises.

4. "MANY BULLS ENCOMPASS ME"

Contrary to general opinion, war sermons did not characterize chaplain preaching. The civilian minister may have been so preoccupied, but not his military counterpart.

Most Confederate chaplains, however, were expository preachers. That is, they examined biblical passages and expounded upon their current meanings. For some, this meant sermonizing on bad habits or particular systems and dogmas. For a few others, it meant applying the gospel to military and political questions. The following table is compiled from war sermons preached by various Confederate chaplains. It shows how situation and text were sometimes related:

Situation	*Sample Texts*
Early months of war when civilian soldiers first encountered hardships and temptations of military life.	"We know that all things work together for good to them that love God." "Be ye men of good courage."
During relative inactivity of the Army of Northern Virginia, 1862.	"Who is on the Lord's side?"
When a Confederate unit appeared surrounded.	"Many bulls encompass me, strong bulls."
Prior to Second Manassas campaign, August, 1862.	"Count it all joy, my brethren, when you meet various trials . . . with no doubting, for he who doubts is like a wave of the sea that is driven and tossed by the wind."

Situation	*Sample Texts*
Following successful conclusion of Manassas campaign.	"What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits toward me? I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord."
Following victory at Fredericksburg, December, 1862.	"The Lord hath done great things for us; behold we are glad."
To start a new year.	"I appeal to you, therefore, brethren . . . to present your bodies as a living sacrifice."
On the eve of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg campaigns.	"Say ye to the righteous it shall go well with them."
At the close of the siege of Vicksburg.	"Pay thy vows to the most high."
Following reversals at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, and the evacuation of Chattanooga.	"As long as he sought the Lord, God caused him to prosper."
After General Jubal Early's Valley campaign defeat, 1864.	"Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Jesus Christ."
When the outcome of the war was apparent, mid-March, 1865.	"The Lord reigneth . . . clouds and darkness are round Him. Righteousness and judgment are the habitation of His throne."

As this preaching table indicates, chaplains sometimes advanced the deuteronomic idea that God protects those who serve him and punishes those who do not. This background theme accounts for some feeling against the war sermon. Religious publications, for instance, seemed aware that the Christian interpretation of war was not all that simple, that the God of the Confederacy was not the God of Joshua, that the Christian God was not a war God impressed mainly by tribal purification rituals. Furthermore, to suggest scriptural explanation for specific victories and defeats was to limit the gospel message.

There is no doubt that chaplains who preached on certain texts like, "Many Bulls Encompass Me," meant to talk about current military situations. At the same time, they also expounded virtues of optimism, positive action, thanking and praising God, making necessary sacrifices, and accepting the inevitable. The need for such attitudes and actions is not confined to military situations.

Denominational histories on the issue of slavery—a war topic upon which chaplains seldom, if ever, sermonized—are somewhat ironical. The Baptists of Virginia in 1789 proclaimed that the institution was a "horrid evil," and recommended that it be prohibited by legislation. The Methodists in 1784 issued a similar statement and the Presbyterian General Assembly followed suit in 1818. But after 1832, Southern churches gradually mustered proslavery arguments. The issue split both Baptists and Methodists in 1845, and in 1861, Southern Presbyterians made a final break with their Northern associates. With Secession the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Confederacy was formed, but unlike Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians, this denomination reunited immediately after the war.

The large majority of Confederate chaplains, however, knew only Christ and him crucified. They usually avoided war topics, and especially the slavery question. According to Chaplain John Granbery, sermons preached to Confederate soldiers would ordinarily have suited any congregation. He said the

prevailing style was not ordinarily "controversial, speculative or curious," but that it was "practical and direct." Above all, Granbery believed that very few chaplains preached malice toward the enemy.

Chaplain J. William Jones supported Granbery in his evaluation of Confederate preaching. He said that when a chaplain was speaking, he could always expect the "long roll" of the drum to interrupt his message. Time was too short for analyses of the current military situation or discussions of the issues which divided South from North. The chaplain preached as "a dying man to dying men." He used the precious time at his disposal to tell the "old, old story of salvation."

Chaplain-surgeon Charles Quintard said he sometimes preached on military themes; he spoke as one who knew the soldier's heart. Private Sam Watkins thought that war was something a chaplain should never talk about to soldiers, but Watkins had only praise for Quintard, because Quintard had compassion. He knew the problems of the fighting man, and while he sometimes spoke about the war, he gave comfort too.

The average chaplain was neither inclined nor trained to deliver dissertations on government and the war. He honored the concrete example, and when time permitted, he used illustrations which gave his sermons a military tinge. When he was agile enough to capitalize on events around him, he spoke—like Quintard and McNeilly—more directly to the problems of military men. With proper compassion, he did not need to lecture. Neither did he need to prophesy, like Jeremiah, about the boiling cauldron from the North.

The field chaplain could not sit down just any time and write out a new sermon. He often had to reach into his carpetbag for ante-bellum material, sometimes for an outline he had used in a seminary homiletics class. When his carpetbag was empty, he spoke from his heart. Plunging extemporaneously into gospel preaching, he somehow reversed the deuteronomic formula. He no longer claimed that the Lord was on the side of the South. He began to ask, "Who is on the Lord's side?"

This question had an intensely personal meaning for every veteran who tried to point himself toward eternal things. It took for granted that the kingdom of God is greater than any habit, formula, denomination, or government. It was an appropriate question for congregations everywhere, civilian or military, Blue or Gray. It set the mood for many a preaching service and set the great revival's tone.

CHAPTER V

BEYOND THE CALL OF DUTY

1. JOHN BROWN'S RIFLE

Part of the 17th Alabama Regiment was under fire from three directions one Sunday morning about church time when Chaplain Isaac T. Tichenor sprang to his feet.

The chaplain was tired and had been resting, but he sensed the 17th was wavering and knew it was time to take up the sword. He walked savagely up and down the line. He waved his hat and shouted at the men. He said that Thomas Watts, their beloved former commander, was listening eagerly for news of his old regiment and that they must not disappoint him.

Tichenor appealed passionately to the memory of old Tom Watts. He also bellowed out the time of day. Back home in Alabama the church bells had just stopped ringing. The people were praying. They were praying for the men of the 17th. They were praying that their husbands, brothers, and sons would stand firm against the terrible enemy, that they would die, if need be, for the cause.

Tichenor had a real savage streak in him and did more than just talk a good fight. He had stood with the best at Shiloh, had fought there with the coolness of a veteran. He had killed a colonel, a major, four privates—and his sharpshooting paid off at least one other time too. While walking up and down a road, trying to locate the enemy, Tichenor paid no attention, he said, when a bullet whizzed by him from his left. Intent upon his voluntary mission, he did not realize he was being shot at

until two other bullets nearly got him. At this point, Tichenor crouched behind a ten-foot stump of a shattered tree to survey the situation. He noted a fence about a hundred yards away and a large tree fifty feet beyond that, the spot where his adversary was hiding.

Tichenor waited, and as the Fed ran bent over toward the fence, the chaplain took a bead and fired. His smoking rifle kept him from seeing the man roll up in a ball and fall, but

there was a cheer from rebel troops who had seen it all, and someone yelled, "Captain, you got him!"

Tichenor told stories like these with great relish. He was not a man to pray and preach and then to hide himself in the

hour of battle. Men of the 17th said he preached a real sermon as he raged up and down among them on that Sunday morning they were under such heavy fire. According to Tichenor, the men responded well to his exhortations. They stood firm, only thirteen of them were killed, and the final tally showed just 117 wounded or missing. When the smoke had cleared, a quick count was taken of enemy dead and 352 Yankees lay on the field.

W. D. Chadick, 4th Alabama Regiment, was another chaplain who entered the fight with gusto. Chadick bought himself a rifle at Harper's Ferry, a gun that had belonged to John Brown, invader of Virginia. Like Tichenor, Chadick seemed pleased that he was a free-lance fighter. Being a volunteer, he had no place in the ranks and no command of anyone but himself. He enjoyed choosing his own battle station and "fighting the rascals" with one of their own weapons. He even used cartridges and caps that had been taken from John Brown when he was captured, and wrote his wife a long letter about his adventures.

Among other rough and tumble chaplains was one young minister who was criticized for not preaching a single sermon during his six months in the service. In reply he said his business was to kill Yankees, not to preach the gospel. Another chaplain exhorted soldiers to be brave, aim low, and kill Yankees as if they were wild beasts—and near Columbus, Kentucky, one Confederate chaplain was supposed to have shot two Yankees, slashed the throat of a third, and yelled barbariously after the routed foe, "Go to hell, you damned sons of bitches."

Records also name other fighting parsons: A. A. Lomas, 16th Mississippi Regiment, said his rightful place was on the firing line; Thomas L. Duke, 19th Mississippi, fought in the line and also helped direct skirmishes; John Sinclair, 5th North Carolina, acted as a lieutenant colonel at Manassas, led a number of charges, and was commended by General Longstreet; Thomas D. Witherspoon, 42nd Mississippi, accepted his commission only on condition that he be allowed to carry

a gun; and John N. Andrews, 3rd North Carolina, raised a company of volunteers to avenge the capture of his brother.

Still other chaplains served voluntarily in the lines, but maybe not with the glee of a Tichenor or a Chadick. They simply thought it was their duty to help out all they could, as the folks back home sometimes expected them to. A South Carolina newspaper, for instance, reported that C. T. Winker had left First Baptist Church of Charleston for the chaplaincy, that he had already "shouldered his rifle and reported for active duty." Another publication predicted that Chaplain John G. Fry, a wounded veteran of the Indian wars, would fight by the side of his men.

Some of these men, of course, paid a high price for their valor: B. F. Ellison, 6th Virginia Cavalry, was mortally wounded, as was William Vanderhurst, chaplain of the 6th Texas Cavalry. These men may have lost their lives because they were more brave than battlewise. In fact, fighting parsons sometimes got in the way and were ordered off the field. An unidentified Presbyterian chaplain should have stayed in the rear, but he ran before his regiment in a foolhardy charge and lost his life in a "rash and needless manner."

Other chaplains were wounded while fighting in the ranks. Chaplain John Granbery was hit at least twice, as was Edward Hudson. Chaplain M. Page, 32nd Georgia Regiment, was wounded; George Smith, a chaplain in Phillips' Georgia Legion, was shot through the neck at the Battle of South Mountain; and L. H. Jones was shot while holding a white flag over a dead comrade.

In addition, several soldier-chaplains were captured during the war. Two were sent to Johnson's Island for inducing troops under Federal Brigadier General Albin Schoepf to desert, and on August 23, 1863, twelve Confederate chaplains were in prison at Fort McNery.

Fighting parsons prompted various reactions, and news of their exploits undoubtedly spread North where their status as noncombatants was seriously questioned. At least this is one

explanation for wavering Federal attitudes on the question of what to do with captured chaplains.

A policy recognizing chaplains as noncombatant was initiated by a Southern general order dated July 1, 1862, and thirty days later, the North reciprocated.

On February 16, 1863, the commander of prisons said the Union policy was being upheld. But on April 27, 1863, a Federal order made it possible to detain captured Confederate chaplains "for justifiable reasons"—and on July 29, 1863, the old policy of immediate and unconditional release was laid aside. This suspension lasted until December 26, 1863, when the Northern commissary general said the cause for holding chaplains had been removed and the original policy was reinstated.

In line with this the Adjutant General in Washington, May 9, 1864, ordered captured chaplains released immediately and unconditionally, but on July 30 several Confederate chaplains were still in process of being discharged, and on October 26, Chaplain John S. Laird was still being detained on Johnson's Island, in "direct violation of agreements."

Even though official orders were silent on the subject, chaplains quite naturally associated themselves with the medical staff. A few chaplains solved the problem of where they should be stationed during a battle by staying in camp, but most accompanied the surgeon or his assistant. The surgeon stayed well out of range, while his assistant—handling cases needing immediate attention—went nearer the front.

The proper battle station for chaplains became a sensitive issue, but discussion centered around fighting chaplains rather than those helping the medical staff. Opposition to chaplains in battle was first voiced after action near Richmond in the spring of 1863 where one was killed, another wounded, and a third captured. Comparing chaplain with surgeon, the *Religious Herald* argued that for either to plunge thoughtlessly into battle was to impair his special function.

The *Herald* conceded that under certain conditions—if his

Christian courage were in doubt, or if the troops were wavering—the chaplain might be justified in fighting. However, preachers in the army were scarce and it was nothing but good sense for them to remain safely in the rear.

The chaplain who had been wounded near Richmond countered with the argument that those remaining behind lost influence with the troops, but the *Herald*—calling self-sacrifice a mistaken virtue—reiterated its stand that the chaplain's first concern was with soldiers as sinners, not as fighters. It argued that the chaplain's function should be thought of as "distinctively spiritual," and other publications echoed this sentiment.

Even though William Owen came from the ranks and was actually killed in action, he agreed with what the religious press had to say. He stopped carrying his rifle after being commissioned a chaplain and never fired another shot. General Jackson also opposed the fighting parson. He said the chaplain's business was prayer, not combat.

Nevertheless, minutes of a chaplains' meeting in Jackson's corps dated April 23, 1863, left the matter up in the air. Reflecting the presence of some members who stayed with their men in battle, they said no absolute rule could be laid down. In the final analysis, battle stations were determined by the chaplain's conscience and the rules of his regiment.

The dilemma Southern chaplains faced was a sacred calling on the one hand, and on the other, commitment to the South. Some took up arms because they could see no other way. They believed what they did was right, and the pragmatic argument was on their side. Their unequivocal answer was clear, dramatic, and in most cases, selfless. These ingredients made their answer popular, and in a sense, natural and easy. Some even enjoyed being called "fighting parsons."

The large majority of Confederate chaplains simply could not reconcile prospects of maiming and killing enemy troops with their sacred calling to render comfort and blessed assurance. They chose the dilemma's traditional horn, but—

sensitive to the situation—seldom criticized their fighting brethren.

The problem, in any case, remains. Did fighting parsons serve *beyond* the call of duty, or did they actually serve *contrary* to it? And who is to decide? Maybe the fighting parsons were right. Maybe all chaplains should have gone into the lines—with love in their hearts, of course—and tried to kill or maim the enemy. More than likely, fighting parsons unconsciously equated their own wills with the will of God and, to this extent, missed the point of Christianity.

Yet the paradox is complicated even further, because many chaplains who carried a John Brown's rifle were also good comforters and effective soul savers. One should then resist the stereotype that all fighting parsons were insensitive barbarians who fought merely for the fun of it. John Granbery, for instance, was a distinguished gentleman and widely recognized for his mental prowess. Perhaps even Tichenor should not be viewed too dimly, for after the war he became a college president.

2. BROKEN LEGS ON THE BATTLEFIELD

Chaplain Thomas W. Caskey, 16th Mississippi Cavalry, was different from Tichenor, Chadick, and all the others whose eyes twinkled as they told war stories.

Caskey was less dramatic, but more systematic, and he had a theory about how to win the war without killing any Yankees. His system would have caused a boom in artificial limbs, but even so, aiming for the legs was more humane than aiming for the heart. It made more sense too. At least Caskey thought so, and he went beyond the call of duty to find out.

Caskey's idea was simple. He thought it was poor planning to kill the enemy, because dead soldiers were no trouble to anybody until after the battle. Caskey figured the enemy should be maimed so he would need immediate help. Shooting him in the arm was not enough, because a man with a broken arm could go to the rear unaided. Caskey believed in aiming for

the legs, because a crippled soldier needed two men to carry him off the field. Just one bullet in the right place could take three men out of action. Furthermore, the wounded man's two helpers would surely find some excuse for not returning to the battle. Or at least this is what Caskey thought.

Caskey was somewhat of an efficiency expert even when he was pastor of First Christian Church in Jackson. At least, his services were in demand then, because he turned down two offers before finally accepting a chaplaincy call from his old friend, Colonel Wirt Adams. Soon after Caskey entered the army, word got around the regiment that he was an interesting man with a logical head on his shoulders, one who knew how to get things done. This is why he was given the job of administering his unit's hospital, a beyond-the-call-of-duty assignment requiring a man who could handle details.

Caskey did his job well. He directed male nurses, supervised menu planning, settled disputes, and saw to it that the hospital was clean and in order. He had a hand in almost everything except prescribing medicines and performing surgery. He must have made a good impression, because the Mississippi legislature called him to address the group on a bill proposing to construct state hospitals for military personnel.

Another reason Caskey was asked to speak before the legislature may have been his connection with the governor. He was reputed to be a sort of secret adviser of state. Whatever the reasons, Caskey was the only chaplain ever asked to address a lawmaking body, and he not only sold the bill, but sold himself as well. The day after his speech, the legislature appropriated $100,000 for the hospital project and authorized the governor to appoint an agent to carry it through. As might be expected, Caskey got the job, and as the governor's agent organized four hospitals. He also fought "red tapism" which, he claimed, had killed hundreds of Confederate soldiers.

Caskey probably got to thinking about aiming for the enemy's legs while doing hospital chores in his regiment—while noting what trouble wounded soldiers were—and when on

occasion the spirit of "old Adam" came over him, he shouldered a rifle, went into the lines and tested his theory. Caskey didn't see anything wrong in this. He was sure that a good soldier was worth a whole brigade of "canting chaplains," and did not hesitate to give occasional "object lessons" on the battlefield. He never killed anybody, but admitted that during his front-line experiments, he broke as many legs as possible.

Caskey's main contribution was medical, not military, and a number of chaplains served in this more fitting extraservice way. There were, of course, many bandage-carrying comforters like McNeilly who did not look upon assisting the surgeon as anything more than doing their jobs. But no matter how one figures it, Chaplain-surgeon Quintard definitely served beyond the call of duty. Unlike a fellow Episcopalian, James H. Harold, he retained his chaplaincy commission and literally held two jobs at once.

Harold, a brilliant young chaplain of the 1st Virginia Volunteers, had graduated from medical school before he was twenty-one and, like Quintard, had practiced medicine before being ordained. Harold also duplicated Quintard's chaplain-surgeon role for a short time, but resigned the chaplaincy to become a full-time army surgeon.

Chaplain Colins D. Elliott, a Methodist of the 1st Tennessee Regiment, also helped soldiers in a medical way. He toured Alabama soliciting provisions for disabled soldiers awaiting assignment to permanent hospitals. His venture was successful, and other chaplains tried the same thing on a more limited scale. Chaplain N. A. Davis, 4th Texas Regiment, for instance, led a drive in Richmond for 100 pairs of shoes and 500 pairs of socks for men in his unit. Another chaplain applied for a twenty-day leave so he could seek provisions for the post hospital to which he was assigned.

Solicitation activities, however, were questionable, especially to those who believed chaplains were no more than horse traders and collectors of table delicacies. Besides, chaplains who were always away on some project or other, no

matter how noble, could not keep from neglecting their ministries in camp. They could not preach Christ in camp and be somewhere else at the same time. Even Chaplain Caskey, miracle man that he was, couldn't do that.

3. "SO I CAN READ GOD'S WORD AND WRITE TO MY WIFE"

Post Chaplain F. R. Miller knew how to arrange books properly, and the little library he founded on Water Street in Mobile was attractive and orderly. It was also equipped with writing tables and chairs, for Miller not only encouraged soldiers to read, he wanted them to write home regularly.

Miller did not think of his library work as unrelated to his regular duties. It was just his way of providing a little something extra for the men, of trying creatively to do a better all-round spiritual job. Most chaplains who did little extra things felt that way. Of course, post chaplains—or those assigned to army hospitals—had more time to work out something like Miller's library project, and quite a few did.

Post Chaplain J. L. Johnson started a library in Lynchburg which was slightly larger perhaps than Miller's. It had 800 volumes, plus a large assortment of papers, magazines, and pamphlets. Johnson, like Miller, knew how to make things attractive and to arrange them conveniently, but Johnson did not spend as much of his own money as did Miller. He seemed to have a knack for promoting, and his library was supported by friends from every state in the Confederacy.

Special efforts, of course, were always made to provide reading matter for the sick and wounded. J. B. Hardwick, another post chaplain, attempted to secure a library for each hospital in Petersburg—and religious publications were forever soliciting reading matter for patients on the mend.

Libraries and writing facilities, however, were of little value to those who could not read and write, and because many Confederate soldiers were in this category, an extraduty

chore for some chaplains became teaching the three R's. Basic subjects were sometimes taught when the men had time on their hands and got to thinking how nice it would be if they could read their own mail, or when they saw their comrades writing letters home and longed to do the same.

Chaplain J. M. Brittain, 38th Georgia Regiment, said a number of soldiers came to him when his outfit was in winter quarters and requested that he begin a school. They hoped to be reading and writing by spring. One soldier said he wanted desperately to read God's word and to write letters home to his wife.

Even though many chaplains were qualified teachers, their basic-level schools enjoyed only moderate success. J. William Jones said, however, that a few men learned to read and write.

The main educational need was, of course, for training in basic subjects, but advanced courses, especially languages, were probably more successful. Advanced students had more than the simple desire to write letters home. They had interest plus proven academic ability. Among the most distinguished teachers of advanced courses was Chaplain Crawford H. Toy, whose specialties at the time were Greek and theology.

When Toy walked across the Harvard campus fifteen years after the war, he may have aroused some comment. He didn't look any different from other professors, but quite a few people may have wondered about him. They may have wondered why President Eliot had hired a rebel to teach Hebrew and other Oriental languages at Harvard. They knew Eliot had some unusual ideas about higher education, something about the curriculum and freedom. But why did he go so far? Why did he have to hire a former Confederate chaplain, and a Southern Baptist at that?

Regardless of his particular affiliations, Toy was no ordinary man. Hoping to be a missionary to Japan, he was graduated in 1859 from the University of Virginia and then studied theology at Southern Baptist Seminary, Greenville, South Carolina. When war came, Toy scuttled his missionary plans

and became a chaplain instead. After the war he taught Greek for a year at the University of Virginia. Then, with study in Berlin to his credit, he became Professor of Old Testament at Southern Baptist in 1869, but resigned ten years later because he simply could not agree with his administration that the scriptures were literally inspired. Toy worked for a year as literary editor of the *Independent* before going to Harvard in 1880.

President Eliot did nothing unusual in choosing Toy to teach at Harvard. He simply hired, according to his judgment, the best Hebrew scholar in the whole country. That is what Harvard was in the habit of doing, hiring the best. Toy's Southern connections were purely secondary to this policy, and he impressed Harvard students as much as he had impressed Confederate troops.

In addition to teaching, many chaplains took up the pen, and a few distinguished themselves. Chaplain Abram Ryan had a marked ability to express himself in literary form, and he coupled a fierce patriotism with his art. Chaplains like J. William Jones who served as correspondents for various religious publications may have been clear and reliable, but they were not in the same class with Ryan. Chaplain Kensey J. Stewart, however, served in an unusual "literary" way.

Stewart, an Episcopalian, was attached to the 6th North Carolina Regiment. Early in 1863 a Richmond bookseller, John W. Randolph, hired Stewart to get a Southern Episcopal Prayer Book published in London. Stewart carried out this printing mission, but his prayer books were captured by the Federal blockade and thrown into the ocean. Stewart, however, returned on a different vessel and reached Richmond with a few of the books in his baggage. He delivered these to Mr. Randolph, and the bookseller gave copies to Mrs. Robert E. Lee and President Davis. A second attempt to have a prayer book published was successful, but no chaplain was involved in the transaction.

Thus, Confederate chaplains were often men of academic and literary ability, and this was to be expected, for teaching,

writing, and preaching went hand-in-hand in those days, and the minister was frequently the only man of letters in his community. Because it was not unusual for the minister to double as a schoolmaster, educational services by chaplains cannot be classed definitely as beyond their call of duty, at least not in the same way as chaplain participation in battle. But at the same time, legislation prescribed no specific duties for the Confederate chaplain, and narrowly speaking, he was expected to do no more than hold meetings on Sunday. Other things were extra, but those who served best went frequently among the troops and helped their men in any way they could. This meant serving in extraduty ways, sometimes carrying out very unusual assignments.

4. BUREAU OF MISSING PERSONS

Special assignments undertaken by Confederate chaplains ranged from being sent abroad to buy arms, as was Chaplain B. S. Dunn, 1st Louisiana Regiment, to serving as a lawyer and administrator for soldiers killed in action, as did Darius Hubert, 1st Louisiana, and William Gwaltney, 1st North Carolina, and included Father Bannon's well-known propaganda mission to Ireland.

Another unusual service was rendered by Chaplain William A. Hamilton, 16th Alabama Regiment, who did such a good job substituting for his quartermaster that he was made an officer. Hamilton also served once as aide to General Sterling Wood. Charles Quintard and A. C. Hopkins were among other aides to Confederate generals, and Robert L. Dabney reportedly was a chaplain under Jackson before becoming his chief of staff in 1862.

Another unusual chore was undertaken by Stephen F. Cameron. This chaplain delivered documents to neutral Canada certifying that six men who had carried out a raid in Vermont and fled across the border were actually Confederate soldiers, a fact Federal authorities had been unwilling to concede. Involved in the plot was a mysterious widow who showed up un-

expectedly with a duplicate set of papers, but Cameron's documents proved more acceptable, and the men were released to his custody. Otherwise, they would have been returned to the United States and tried in a civilian court for arson, robbery, and felony.

Finally, Methodist Chaplain William A. Crocker, 14th Virginia Regiment, certainly did more than was expected of him when he formed the Army Intelligence Office in Richmond.

What Crocker actually organized was a missing persons bureau. He got the idea in May, 1863, when he was convalescing from a severe fever and spent some time searching in vain for members of his outfit in Richmond hospitals. Finding only a few soldiers from the 14th, Crocker's good Methodist instincts were aroused by the confused situation and he soon devised a remedy. He visualized a service that would reestablish communication between wounded soldiers and their loved ones.

Crocker's plan was immediately approved by the Secretary of War, and he was detailed to secure office space, to muster clerical help from among disabled veterans, and to supervise the operation.

The Army Intelligence Office secured names of about 30,000 soldiers in hospitals, and kept daily records on patients received, transferred, discharged, and deceased. It helped chaplains locate their men, corresponded with friends and relatives of wounded soldiers, and communicated with foreign governments, mainly the United States, concerning their subjects in Confederate armies. Working under a reciprocal agreement, the Office also exchanged lists of enemy dead with the Union government.

Ill health forced Chaplain Crocker to resign from the agency he created almost singlehandedly, but the Office expanded its record-keeping to include information on army changes in location and organization. It handled casualty lists which were published from Lee's Army and also compiled

names of Confederate dead in all branches of service. Even more would be known about this very important agency if many of its records had not been burned in the siege of Richmond.

As Crocker, Caskey, Quintard, and others illustrate, chaplains served beyond the call of duty in a variety of ways. They fought in the ranks, traveled to foreign countries on special missions, made novel medical and educational contributions, and carried on a host of other activities which added to their stature and were related, directly or indirectly, to their job of rendering comfort and assurance.

In attempting to comfort the troops—sharing their exposures, hardships, and dangers without being one of them—the chaplain assumed a burdensome role. His determination to pastor units where wickedness was rampant—to preach the word, to nurse the sick, to distribute tracts, and to do those little extra things—made for many an anxious and discouraging hour.

Moreover, chaplains were perplexed by low pay, lack of rank, and undelineated responsibilities. All these things, and others too, accounted for the chaplain's greatest problem—his own depleted ranks. Yet those who stayed and served, whether beyond the call of duty or not, were a credit to the South.

CHAPTER VI

SOME SPECIAL PROBLEMS

1. WHAT MEANS THIS RANK?

Chaplain J. William Jones, 13th Virginia Regiment, was with Lee's 30,000 hungry remnants at Appomattox. So were about fifty of his fellow chaplains, and all together, they accounted for two thirds of the chaplains left in the Confederacy.

As long as there had been hope—and Lee tried everything—the remnants maneuvered bravely. But their bodies were tired, their movements sluggish, their morale low—and officers no longer admonished their columns to "close it up." Instead, they rode doggedly in front, with their heads down, their eyes fixed, and a widening gap between them and their companies.

Chaplain Jones remained with Lee to see it all—hungry men gnawing twigs of trees, tired men falling from exhaustion, discouraged men deserting in broad daylight, and nobody seeming to care. Jones helped all he could. He gave physical and spiritual comfort until the final day, and in this time of trouble, his message was indeed relevant. But the Army of Northern Virginia was no longer a great fighting force. It was not really an army at all. It was a hungry skeleton which the hated enemy would soon feed (a real disgrace!) and then dismantle. What difference did it make if men deserted? Why didn't they all run away?

Did loyalty to the South account for the 30,000 hangers-on? Yes, of course, but these men may have stayed with Lee because there really wasn't any place else for them to go. Or

religion may have had something to do with their perseverance. Regardless of how one answers such questions, Chaplain Jones saw it all, remembered it, wrote it down, and was glad he had stayed to the bitter end.

Jones was not the only Confederate chaplain to stick with Lee, but he was in a special class. Except for some ministers commissioned after July, 1864, no more than fifty saw the war through. Many even resigned before their commissions were up. This does not speak well for the Confederate chaplaincy as a whole, but it does reflect the importance of religion in the Army of Northern Virginia. It was no accident that, when Lee surrendered, two out of every three Confederate chaplains were serving with him. Furthermore, it is only simple arithmetic to conclude that half the "loyal" chaplains—quite likely many more—were among Lee's surrendered forces at Appomattox. It is tempting for one to speculate from these facts that many of the 30,000 remnants owed their perseverance to religious experiences in Lee's Army.

Nevertheless, the over-all chaplaincy drop-out record was high. More than eighty ministers resigned from various Confederate units during a single six-month period, and Bragg's chaplains once even considered a mass exodus in protest against the General's "blocking" actions. Some chaplains did resign because of officer attitudes, but Bragg's chaplains did not carry out their threat. Actually, Bragg was converted during an Army revival, and with other prominent Confederate leaders, he joined the church.

Confederate chaplains were nevertheless beset with special problems arising from lack of adequate official recognition. Because of their unique function, it was perhaps a good thing that chaplains' duties were not prescribed by law. But military ministers could have served with much less confusion, misunderstanding, and hardship if they had enjoyed some kind of rank and better pay.

As things stood, chaplains were neither officers nor enlisted men; they were given commissions but allotted the rations of

noncommissioned officers. They were entitled to the quarters of a second lieutenant, but were not permitted the second lieutenant's commissary privileges. They received pay equal to that of a second lieutenant, but were generally thought of as captains, and on most regimental rosters, were listed just above enlisted men. In addition, some chaplains who had entered the service through North Carolina and Virginia state militia units had been accustomed to the rank of major, and were surprised to learn—too late—that the situation in the Confederate Army was decidedly confused.

Attempts to clarify the rank of chaplains failed in Congress, but one chaplain—acknowledging that he was generally thought of as a captain—said a few soldiers called him "parson" or "passon," but that he had once been referred to as a "chapel."

Confused rank naturally resulted in confused dress. Quite a few chaplains had their pictures taken in the uniform of captain, but they actually wore everything from beaver hats to clerical regalia. Chaplains in the Army of Tennessee made some attempt at uniformity by adopting buttons worn by other staff officers and dressing, somewhat like the surgeon, in grey cloth, with black facing and trimming.

In an article written when he was an old man, Chaplain McNeilly spoke about insignia worn by military ministers. McNeilly said he had seen some chaplains wear brass or silver emblems of the Bible on their collars, and that others had large crosses of braid on their shoulders. Being neither prescribed nor prohibited, insignia was also left up to the individual chaplain, even though some associations adopted various emblems. Chaplains in Lee's Army chose to identify themselves, for instance, by wearing the letter "C" engraved upon an appropriate background. Other groups chose the Maltese cross or an emblem of a scroll or open Bible.

Some chaplains felt these things were important because they generated respect from the officers and men. But the matter of rank—along with confused uniform and insignia—was not a serious problem to those who felt the chaplain needed

no other recognition besides that which came from doing a good job. However, the confused situation worried others, caused some resignations, and kept some well-qualified ministers from becoming chaplains.

A more serious problem, however, was the pay situation, and chaplains hurt most by this were family men who had served with the rank and pay of major in North Carolina and Virginia state units. These men were quite naturally dismayed when they found their pay drastically reduced, but their only out was resignation, a step they took only after the burden proved too heavy.

Religious publications made quite a bit of low chaplain salaries and tended to say that because of meager pay only young men fresh out of seminary were attracted to the chaplaincy. Numerous letters of resignation attest to the fact that many chaplains found it impossible to survive on the money they were paid by the government. On the other hand, many ministers—especially those with other income—happily accepted substantial reductions in order to serve in the army. Among attempts to supplement chaplain salaries were special funds contributed by enlisted men and officers, and some help came from home churches—one minister's church continued to pay him full salary during his tour of duty.

On a denominational scale, Presbyterians began as early as May, 1861, to supplement their chaplains' salaries, and by 1864 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church had shown great liberality in supporting such a program. On August 1, 1864, a little less than $80,000 had been contributed by the Presbyterians of Georgia, and on February 1, 1865, the Lexington, Virginia, Presbytery alone had raised $13,000 for the cause. Presbyterian records, however, do not indicate how this money was disbursed.

Southern Methodists began to supplement chaplains' salaries as early as September 23, 1863, when the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* announced that $175 had been received to help support the family of Chaplain Alexander Betts. But the Virginia Conference took the lead in providing more substantial sup-

plements. A committee on chaplains met in November, 1863, and formulated the plan. The full Conference later voted annual supplements of $1800 for married chaplains with $300 added for each child; and $300 for single chaplains. This money was designated for new chaplains, but reports made at the 1864 Conference indicated all chaplains from the Virginia Conference were receiving supplemental pay. This Conference also voted to increase the established supplement to $3,000 for married men, with $400 for each child, and $500 for single chaplains.

In addition, Methodist resolutions favoring supplemental pay were made in 1863 by the Georgia Annual Conference and by the Missions Board of South Carolina. But the other twelve Southern Methodist Conferences appear to have taken no action.

By February, 1864, the Baptist Sunday School and Publications Board was supplementing salaries of needy chaplains, and by March 11, a Baptist magazine indicated that the Domestic Board of Missions was also helping. Another denominational publication on March 24 proposed that Baptists of the South should appropriate $1,000,000 annually to supplement salaries of their military ministers. A. E. Dickinson, General Superintendent of Army Colporteurs, said in July that prospects of additional denomination support had induced a number of Baptists to serve as chaplains.

Except for these Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist supplement programs, however, no other communion added to its chaplains' pay. Salary was not considered a problem among Roman Catholics, because they were not married—and Disciples of Christ were virtually opposed to any pay for ministers, military or civil.

The matter of low salary thus took its place beside confused rank as a special problem of military ministers. Neither problem was ever quite solved, and both caused many chaplains to give up their jobs as hopeless, long before Appomattox—but not Chaplain Jones.

2. TOO MANY PREACHERS, TOO FEW CHAPLAINS

Chaplain Jones must have been a patient man. Maybe this is why he lasted to the end. He was not like A. S. Worrell, chaplain of the 34th Georgia Regiment, always standing up for his rights and making everything a matter of conscience. Jones, more like Quintard, McNeilly, and others, came closer to the ideal pattern. Having served as a private, he knew the foot soldier's problems, knew fighting men needed chaplains who set saintly examples, but also human men who could act naturally and talk about worldy matters, men who could sometimes close their eyes and ears and adjust to the "brunt and rough usages" of the world. Above all, Jones knew chaplains must be different from Worrell. He knew successful chaplains were social minded and that they were blessed with broad, nonchip-carrying shoulders.

Of course Worrell had tried. That is, he put a lot of time and energy into his work. Early in the war he went to bat for the 34th Georgia Regiment, an outfit the Confederate War Department had mysteriously failed to recognize. He journeyed to Richmond in November, 1862, to get commissions for officers in his unit, failed to see the Secretary of War, but got a promise from his assistant that the commissions would be sent shortly. By January, however, they had not arrived, and persistent Chaplain Worrell was busy writing letters which seem never to have been answered to his satisfaction.

In May, 1864, Worrell wrote another cycle of letters, one to President Davis himself. His charge, in brief, was that the chaplaincy was no more than a tool of the government. For reasons of conscience, he therefore resigned, and there is an interesting footnote to his resignation in the National Archives. "Accept this resignation," the notation reads. "My recollection is that this man took unusual pains to be appointed chaplain, and has since attempted to change his location to one more congenial with his feelings and interests."

Reasons for more excusable resignations were: poor health, sometimes because of exposure; decisions to become army missionaries or colporteurs; desires to serve on the line, to raise a regiment, or to organize and head a company of fighting men.

Two Roman Catholic chaplains, ordered by their bishop to other fields, had to resign; J. M. Meredith left the 47th Virginia Regiment to complete studies for ordination as an Episcopal priest; and Lemuel C. Ransom, 20th Alabama Regiment, resigned to edit a denominational paper.

A Baptist minister, who had become a chaplain when certain "problems" developed in his church, returned home when the trouble was over and resumed the pastorate he had held for twelve years. Disturbed by so many resignations on behalf of churches, A. E. Dickinson, chief Baptist colporteur, pled with civilian congregations through religious publications. He begged them not to encourage chaplains to leave the field for empty churches.

Of course, chaplains who resigned did not escape criticism, especially from those who could not quit so easily. Those who departed were accused of going home to soft beds, bountiful tables, heated churches, and good cheer. One minister even admitted that his wife's loneliness prompted his resignation, and as the war progressed, others said they went home to protect their women and property from Northern ravagers.

While 600 different chaplains served throughout the war (there were 800 possible locations), the highest number present at any one time was 250. The Southern civilian clergy during this period, however, was estimated at between five and six thousand, and one Methodist conference in 1863 even reported preachers outnumbering available appointments.

By the time Jones became a chaplain in 1863, even the original 250 had dwindled, for by this time many disillusioned youngsters—weathering the first winter badly—had packed their carpet bags and gone home. They had made the mistake of thinking of the war as just a little summer skirmish in-

volving a few patriotic but adventuresome handicaps. Alert religious publications took immediate note of these early resignations and tended to say chaplains were too easily discouraged. But chaplains, like Jones, who persevered did not really miss their departed comrades until the following winter (1862-63) when revivalism began to stir in Jackson's corps.

In a published plea to the churches of the Confederate States, chaplains of Jackson's corps noted vacancies in half their infantry regiments with even a poorer showing in artillery units. They estimated that no more than 200 chaplains were serving the entire Confederacy, and wound up their appeal by saying civilian churches would have preachers left over even if army regiments were fully supplied, according to law, with one chaplain each.

The Georgia Baptist Convention, April 22-25, 1863, was more conservative than Jackson's chaplains in estimating the number of military ministers then serving. Indicating a total of only 85, the convention subdivided this number as follows: 41 Methodists, 23 Baptists, 19 Presbyterians. But while this denominational breakdown was undoubtedly accurate, the total, including other denominations, certainly exceeded 85. More than likely, the chaplains of Jackson's corps had correctly estimated the number at 200.

The appeal from Jackson's corps caused other units to take stock. Someone noted that in Bragg's army there was scarcely a chaplain for each brigade, and one correspondent reported sixteen North Carolina units of one command without any religious guidance at all. Testimony of this "lamentable deficiency" was abundant.

J. William Jones was undoubtedly influenced by such testimony, because it was during this period that he was elevated from the ranks and began to serve as a chaplain. Other ministers also heeded the call, and consequently, many vacancies in Lee's army were filled.

As might be expected, however, the situation in the West remained critical. Speaking to a Presbyterian assembly, Chaplain J. N. Brison pointed out the scarcity in Tennessee, and named several brigades that had no chaplain at all. He even said some divisions had not heard a single sermon in months.

The *South Western Baptist,* dated June 18, 1863, carried an appeal—on behalf of Polk's corps—similar to the one by Jackson's chaplains. On July 30, the *Southern Christian Advocate* printed a similar plea for chaplains in the Army of Tennessee. But on the eve of the great revival, one *Biblical Recorder* correspondent said that some regenerate men in his outfit were asking, "Where are the preachers?"

Excluding early months of the war, the period in which the largest number of chaplains served was February-March, 1864, at the height of army revivalism. According to the *Religious Herald* (February, 1864), only fifty vacancies then

existed in Lee's Army, with not a single brigade without at least one chaplain. Western units, of course, were not as well supplied, and Chaplain J. B. Tyler, 10th Virginia Cavalry, said that in Stuart's Corps of Cavalry, there were eleven vacancies.

Intense evangelistic efforts during the winter of 1863-64 once more accentuated chaplaincy needs, and leaders of denominations which were behind in supplying military ministers were being petitioned constantly. The Presbyterians and Methodists responded well during this period. The Baptists, campaigning to secure 25 additional chaplains also experienced some success. But Lutherans were conspicuously absent from chaplaincy ranks, and in the entire Army of Northern Virginia, there was not a single chaplain affiliated with the Disciples of Christ.

Statistics during the great revival show: 71 chaplains serving from 80 Methodist conferences; approximately 80 chaplains divided between Baptists and Presbyterians; about 20 Episcopalians; 15 Roman Catholics; and ten from other communions. Even during the great revival, then, less than 200 chaplains were on hand.

Furthermore, the cooling of revivalism in late spring, 1864, resulted in more resignations which the chaplaincy could ill afford, and even though one publication proposed fasting and prayer to help increase the number of religious leaders, the shortage grew steadily worse until Lee's surrender at Appomattox.

A man like Chaplain Jones is to be admired for many things. He was educated, somewhat of a writer, and acted as a Baptist clearinghouse for ministers seeking the chaplaincy. But his greatest contribution may well have been simply sticking around to see the matter through.

3. *THE ONE AND THE MANY*

Jones was a Baptist and was loyal to his denomination. His interest in helping Baptist ministers secure chaplaincy com-

missions attests to this. But Jones also liked the nondenominationalism of Lee's Army. The sense of co-operation he got at weekly association meetings helped make him strong, helped him endure hardships when he could have resigned and gone home.

Associations had been organized only a short time when Jones was commissioned in November, 1863. A C. Hopkins had begun working on the idea when he first joined in 1862, but he couldn't generate much enthusiasm because at that time chaplains had not really settled down to their work.

Soon after the first touch of revivalism in Jackson's corps, nineteen chaplains met on March 16, 1863, to form an association. Ironically, Jackson did not live to see the great revival, and never got to know how well the organization of chaplains in his corps functioned. In less than two months he was mortally wounded at Chancellorsville, mistakenly shot by his own men.

Jackson's religious spirit continued to live, however, in both the Second and Third Corps of Lee's Army, because his Second Corps cadre was divided between these two organizations, and chaplains' associations were formed in both. Polk's chaplains also organized, and by the time Lee's hungry men surrendered at Appomattox, the Army of Northern Virginia had four corps associations, one army association, and the Richmond Chaplains' Association.

Associations, usually meeting on Tuesdays, gave religious workers a chance to air their special problems. Civilian ministers, colporteurs, and army missionaries participated, and—depending on battle conditions—from ten to twenty-five members attended. Commanding officers were sometimes present, and General Lee appeared at these meetings on several occasions.

Sessions opened with a worship service, the sermon being preached by the chairman for that day. While the chairmanship rotated, it was necessary to have a permanent secretary to keep tabs on business matters discussed after the preaching. A

typical business session was held April 20, 1863. Its minutes include the following items: Report on the state of religion; report on progress in procuring chaplains; report of the "committee on badges for chaplains"; and discussion of the question, "Where ought chaplains to be in battle?"

The May 1, 1863, business meeting of Polk's chaplains heard committee reports on "ways of conducting and improving the work of the chaplaincy" and methods to be followed in getting rid of Sunday inspections. On the Sunday inspection problem, chaplains of the Army of Tennessee petitioned Congress for relief.

The chaplains of the Army of Tennessee also had a committee "to supply destitute regiments with religious privileges," and another to promote the publication of tracts. The chaplains of Hindman's corps, Army of Tennessee, appointed a standing committee to encourage missionary laborers and to aid ministers in obtaining chaplaincy commissions. The Richmond Chaplains' Association appointed a committee to determine "the extent of military restrictions placed upon chaplains with regard to obtaining leaves of absence."

As revivalism spread, chaplains were also expected to report to their associations on meetings held, numbers attended, and souls saved. Another purpose of associations was to coordinate these various religious activities, and in this connection, a protocol for visiting ministers developed.

Visiting religious workers, for instance, were expected to clear with the chaplains before setting up shop. But not all visitors thought to perform this courtesy. A Baptist chaplain of the 18th Alabama Regiment, for instance, was enraged by a Methodist bishop who paid no attention to protocol. He simply went to division headquarters, announced where and when he was going to preach, and sent word to the troops. "This discourtesy, if generally practiced," wrote the Baptist, "will work mischief."

In another rare case, Chaplain George Patterson was supposed to have kept a Presbyterian visitor from preaching to

men of the 3rd North Carolina Regiment. When questioned about this by Jackson, Patterson reportedly replied by asking the General if he needed any help commanding the Second Corps. When Jackson said that he did not, Patterson is supposed to have answered that by the same token he did not want any help in being chaplain of his regiment.

But good will generally prevailed among all denominations and faiths. Jackson, of course, had insisted that differences be minimized, and most chaplains followed his directives as far as they could. Nevertheless, the Roman Catholics still had their particular perspective, the Episcopalians had theirs, and Chaplain Jones had his good Baptist individuality. Jones, however, also co-operated. He was one, but he associated in good fellowship with the many. And he stuck with his job to the very end.

4. "THE SLOUGH OF OPEN COMMUNION"

Several good chaplains like J. William Jones had been elevated from the ranks, and there were more where he came from. In one Georgia regiment alone, fourteen ministers were enlisted as foot soldiers, and such men could have gone a long way toward relieving the chaplaincy shortage.

If this was so, why didn't the War Department issue one simple order and solve the problem? Why weren't qualified ministers who were already in the army ordered to accept chaplaincy commissions?

Things were not that simple, and for two reasons: the attitude of the War Department, and the attitude of a very large segment of the people. The War Department, especially under Seddon, generally frowned on taking fighting men from the ranks, even those who *wanted* to be transferred, and assigning them noncombatant duties. Even though Seddon may be accused of hypocrisy in this matter, his feeling is understandable.

But what if the War Secretary had been like General Washington of a hundred years before? What if he *had* issued

an order directing all ministers in the ranks to accept chaplaincy commissions? What would have happened? Of course one cannot know exactly, but such an order would certainly have fanned the church-state issue to a roaring flame. Even though Chaplain Jones came from the ranks, he would have been the first to object. Like all good Baptists, he denied the right of a state to dictate on matters of religion. After all, Jones made his move to the chaplaincy voluntarily, and that was different.

The reaction of Jones would have been mild compared to that of other Baptists who believed so strongly in church-state separation that they even objected to any minister becoming a chaplain, voluntarily or not. These people believed it was simply wrong for the government to pay the preacher. They held that ministers to soldiers should be supported by the churches.

A sense of patriotism may have muffled early outcries on this question, but after the first disillusioning winter of the war, Baptist periodicals began to clear their throats and take their characteristic church-state stand. One minister called the chaplaincy a union, for all practical purposes, of church and state—and a *South Western Baptist* writer cried out against furnishing the gospel by taxation. The same writer later complained that in becoming a chaplain one automatically submitted to certain unconstitutional "religious tests."

The *Christian Index* spoke with the same voice in 1863, objecting mainly to chaplains of other denominations who were preaching the "wrong doctrines." The *Index* believed it was wrong to use tax money in support of men like this.

Since Jones not only became a chaplain but stayed to see the job through, he obviously believed in the chaplaincy. But Jones notwithstanding, Baptist feeling against his position was strong. The Georgia Convention even went on record officially to this effect, and antichaplaincy feelings undoubtedly kept Baptist chaplains from serving in proportion to their denominational strength. The positive side of this sentiment

resulted in strong support for army missionaries and colporteurs, activities in which Baptists outnumbered all the rest.

Chaplain Jones was different from the Baptist stereotype in many ways. He agreed more with Lee and Jackson, for instance, that the military ministers should be nondenominational in spirit. But denominationalism did creep into chaplaincy ranks, even in Lee's Army, and this was another special problem.

Joseph Cross, a Methodist chaplain attacking immersion, was accused of denominationalism, and another Methodist applied for a transfer because there were too many Baptists in his unit. Colonel William Pender, an Episcopalian, got into this row by saying he could not understand how his Methodist chaplain could be so "childish." Pender then said *he* thought there were too many Methodist chaplains.

As a rule, Baptists were the most loyal to denominationalism. When some, like Jones, became "too catholic," Baptist publications tried to set them straight. The *Christian Index* was especially good at this, but probably fought a losing battle in trying to save good Baptists from the "slough of open communion."

Many of the Confederate chaplain's special problems were never solved. They simply had to be lived with, adjusted to, taken in stride, or transcended. The chaplain unable to deal with his own problems was not good at his main job, because his main job was also a problem—the problem of helping men resolve, as Christians, the perplexities of hardship, death, and defeat. The chaplain who was anxious about himself—and it was this type of man who often stumbled and fell beside the road to Appomattox—was not effective in conveying the essential feature of Christianity. Chaplain J. William Jones was not one of the stumblers. He saw the thing through.

EPILOGUE

THE TRADITION EVALUATED

Frustrated and anxious minds could not explain eternal things to losing soldiers. But Chaplain Jones was not a petty man. Like Quintard and McNeilly of the Army of Tennessee, Jones and the faithful fifty of Lee's Army rose above their special problems. They transcended their own frustrations, comforted the men who followed Lee to Appomattox, and inspired them along the way to face eternal things.

Another hundred years have passed since the rise of the chaplaincy tradition in America. Times have changed; methods of warfare have changed; but the tradition is more firmly established than ever. The verdict of the past hundred years is that the function of the military minister is essential and that the chaplain is here to stay.

Even though the Confederate chaplain was an outsider in many respects, never quite fully understood, appreciated, or accepted, especially during the early part of the war, the final verdict on his contribution was generally positive.

There were, of course, those who continued to be suspicious; those officers who said the chaplain instilled fear of retribution in his men and made them unfit for battle; those who resented being criticized for their bad habits; those who merely tolerated the chaplain as a necessary evil. But, in general, even irreligious officers admitted that the chaplain performed a necessary function.

To Jackson and Lee, of course, the chaplain was more than just necessary. To them, as to Washington a hundred years before, the chaplain was vital to the success of the army. Thus, when two Federal chaplains came over the lines at Appomattox to talk shop, they were amazed to hear how well the chaplains of Lee's Army had been treated. They had never seen anything like it in the North. Neither had they experienced a great religious awakening within their own ranks.

A commanding officer's notation on a chaplain's application for transfer bears witness to the esteem in which the chaplaincy was held. "Disapproved," the colonel wrote, "this officer is faithful, efficient, and has been very successful in effecting a moral and religious improvement in the Regiment."

Religious publications also registered a positive vote for the Confederate chaplaincy. They said this self-denying office could not be oversupplied, and pointed to the fact that regiments with chaplains had a higher morale and simply acted better than those without religious guidance. Civilian ministers also had words of praise for their military counterparts, but these words came mainly from clergymen who were too old to serve in the army. One minister concluded, however, that chaplains were nothing more than a corps of companions for the officers.

Perhaps the most meaningful evaluations came from ordinary fighting men. These men did not appreciate the chaplaincy at first, but changed their minds as time went on. Their early evaluation was to equate the military minister with a fifth wheel on a caisson—uncalled for. But soldiers had changed their minds by the time they got to Appomattox.

Not every chaplain, of course, was highly esteemed by his men. Not every chaplain deserved their praise. The "visiting" chaplains were naturally more highly regarded than those who merely smoked their pipes and enjoyed themselves with the officers. But given half a chance to know his chaplain, the soldier usually had something good to say about him.

A North Carolina soldier became such a good friend of one chaplain that he wanted to bring him into his family. "I do like the chaplain of our regiment so much," he wrote to a female cousin, "I would like for you to see him . . . I think you are worthy of a good fellow and I take him to be one." The same soldier later wrote another relative on the same subject: "I have recommended Cousin to him and if he should come by that way she must put on her best *Bib* and *Tuck* for he undoubtedly is a nice feller."

Times have changed. But the human element remains. The chaplain's basic problem also remains. What is there to say

when the hated enemy is victorious over such a religious army, a noble general, a principled people, a righteous cause? Why has God allowed this thing to happen? What does the Christian have to say about his faith now?

The problem of Appomattox was the problem of death—physical and ideological death, massive and concentrated death, a specter ever present in the Confederate soldier's mind. But in substance, it was the same problem of death that Christian ministers—anywhere in any century—must try to deal with. It is a problem which arises eventually with every human being—soldier or civilian.

Some Confederate chaplains were unworthy men. They could not have given comfort even if they had tried. But many were self-denying, and those who measured up were more self-denying than not. They were the brave and faithful companions—comforting their men and pointing them toward eternal things—while walking on the road to Appomattox.

APPENDIX

A ROSTER OF CONFEDERATE CHAPLAINS[1]

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Acton, James C.	Hospital, Ga.	
Adams, George	General Magruder	Baptist
Addison, Oscar M.		
Adwood, Francis	Hospital, S. C.	
Aldrich, N.	Fort Moultrie, S. C.	
Aldrich, W. A.	1st Va. Regt.	
Alexander, D. H.	27th Miss. Regt.	
Alford, J. R.	51st N. C. Regt.	
Allen, L. W.	General Magruder	
Allison, J. B.	Army of Tenn.	
Ambler, Thomas	Williamsburg, Va.	
Anderson, B. B.	4th N. C. Regt.	
Anderson, J. Monroe	12th Regt. S. C. Vols.	
Andrews, John	3rd Regt. N. C. Vols.	
Angerer, August	Hospital, Miss.	
Archer, Henry L.	41st Miss. Regt.	
Armstrong, R. C.	9th Texas Cav. Regt.	
Armstrong, W. H.	7th Tenn. Regt.	
Arnett, J. B.	17th Va. Cav. Regt.	
Ashmore, J. L.	25th Ga. Regt.	
Atwood, Charles H.	5th Mo. Regt.	Presbyterian
August, Frank	58th Va. Regt.	
Auld, F.	24th S. C. Regt.	
Avirett, James B.	7th Va. Cav. Regt.	Episcopalian
Bachman, J. W.	60th Tenn. Regt.	
Bagby, George	40th Va. Regt.	
Baker, A. A.	1st Tenn. Cav. Regt.	
Baker, Robert M.	17th Va. Regt.	Episcopalian
Bakewell, A. G.	38th Miss. Regt.	Episcopalian
Baldwin, L. H.	5th La. Regt.	

[1]This roster has been compiled from the letters, diaries, and miscellaneous papers of soldiers and chaplains. Extensive use was made of several incomplete rosters that had been drawn up by Confederate chaplains.

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Ball, Dabney	1st Va. Cav. Regt.	
Balthis, M. G.	10th Va. Regt.	
Bannon, John	General Sterling Price	Roman Catholic
Barbee, James G.	6th Ala. Regt.	
Barber, S. B.	47th Va. Regt.	Roman Catholic
Barley, Martin	8th S. C. Regt.	
Barnwell, Robert		Episcopalian
Barrett, Edward	45th Ga. Regt.	
Barton, Jefferson	34th Ga. Regt.	
Beadleg, R. B.	51st Va. Regt.	
Beck, Thomas	44th Ga. Regt.	
Beckwith, John		Presbyterian
Beever, George	25th Ala. Regt.	
Beever, H. G.	33rd Ala. Regt.	
Benick, A. R.	34th N. C. Regt.	
Bennett, John	General Sterling Price	
Bennett, W. Thomas	12th Tenn. Regt.	Baptist
Bennett, William W.	Post Chaplain, Richmond	Methodist
Bennus, J. C.	9th Ga. Regt.	
Berry, W. W.	2nd Va. Cav. Regt.	
Betts, Alexander	30th N. C. Regt.	Methodist
Biggs, J. B.	33rd Tenn. Regt.	
Bihle, L. A.	20th N. C. Regt.	
Binet, William	Hospital, Alabama	Episcopalian
Bingham, S. J.	Army of Miss.	
Binkle, Louis A.	20th N. C. Regt.	
Birdwell, George	10th Tex. Cav. Regt.	
Black, W. L.	26th S. C. Regt.	
Blackwell, J. D.	18th Va. Cav. Regt.	Methodist
Bledsoe, Adam	15th Va. Cav. Regt.	Methodist
Bliemel, J. Emmeran	10th Tenn. Regt.	Roman Catholic
Bocock, John	7th Va. Regt.	
Boggs, D. C.	Army of Tenn.	
Boggs, G. W.	8th S. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
Boggs, W. E.	6th S. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
Bolthis, L. M. Y.	10th Va. Regt.	
Bolton, James	53rd N. C. Regt.	
Bolton, J. G.	50th Tenn. Regt.	
Booker, George	58th Va. Regt.	
Borrah, J. T.	1st Miss. Regt.	

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Bouchelle, J. N.	13th S. C. Regt.	
Boude, H. B.	Army of Tenn.	Presbyterian
Bounds, E. McKay	3rd Mo. Regt.	
Boyce, J. P.	Army of N. Va.	
Boyd, T. M.	4th N. C. Regt.	Episcopalian
Brearley, H. M.	8th S. C. Regt.	
Breman, Thomas H.	2nd Tex. Regt.	
Brewer, A. G.		
Brittain, J. M.	38th Ga. Regt.	
Brooker, George G.	48th Va. Regt.	Methodist
Brooks, A. T.	44th Tenn. Regt.	
Brooks, H. E.	2nd N. C. Regt.	
Brooks, H. T.	44th Ga. Regt.	
Brown, Henry	10th Tenn. Regt.	Roman Catholic
Brown, J. C.	60th Va. Regt.	Presbyterian
Brown, John M.	37th Ark. Regt.	
Brown, Manning	2nd S. C. Cav. Regt.	
Bryson, J. N.	9th Ky. Regt.	Methodist
Buck, Charles	42nd Ala. Regt.	
Buie, J. D.		
Bullhart, Jacob	36th Va. Regt.	
Bunting, R. F.	8th Tex. Cav. Regt.	Presbyterian
Burnshaw, Joel	9th Ga. Regt.	
Burroughs, A.	14th Miss. Regt.	
Burrow, A. G.	12th Tenn. Regt.	
Butler, George	3rd Ark. Regt.	
Buxton, Jarvis	Hospital, N. C.	Episcopalian
Bynum, B. P.	55th Ala. Regt.	
Byrd, T. M.	41st N. C. Regt.	
Byrnham, J. C.	9th Ga. Regt.	
Cameron, Josiah P.	24th Ala. Regt.	
Cameron, Stephen F.	1st Md. Regt.	
Camp, J. C.	10th Ga. Regt.	
Campbell, Alex	29th Tex. Cav. Regt.	
Campbell, C. D.	4th Ga. Regt.	
Caperton, A. C.	9th Miss. Regt.	
Carius, Anthony	1st La. Regt.	Roman Catholic
Carlisle, J. M.	7th S. C. Regt.	
Carmichael, James	30th Va. Regt.	Episcopalian
Carpenter, John	Post Chap., Richmond	
Carr, John F.	9th Ark. Regt.	

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Carrington,	Army of N. Va.	
Carson, T. M.	7th Va. Cav. Regt.	
Carson, W. B.	14th S. C. Regt.	
Carter, W. A.	Hospital, Alabama	Presbyterian
Caskey, Thomas	16th Miss. Cav. Regt.	Disciples
Castleton, Thomas		Presbyterian
Chaddick, Stokely	7th Tex. Regt.	
Chadick, W. D.	50th Ala. Regt.	Presbyterian
Chamberlain, William	20th Ark. Regt.	
Chambliss, J. A.	Army of N. Va.	
Chaplin, C. C.	Post Chap., Danville	
Chapman, M. B.	26th Miss. Regt.	Presbyterian
Cheatham, H. C.	8th N. C. Regt.	
Cherry, L. M.	37th Ga. Regt.	Methodist
Cherry, S. M.	4th Tenn. Regt.	Methodist
Churchill, Orvin	31st N. C. Regt.	
Clawson, S. R.		
Cleghorn, E. B.	17th La. Regt.	Presbyterian
Cleveland, T. P.	13th Ga. Regt.	Presbyterian
Cline, J. M.	42nd N. C. Regt.	
Cobb, N. B.	14th N. C. Regt.	
Coffey	27th Ala. Regt.	Presbyterian
Coffin, Claiborne	27th Ala. Regt.	
Cohen, A. D.	46th N. C. Regt.	Baptist
Cole, John		Episcopalian
Coleman, James	Army of Tenn.	
Collum, J. W.	24th Tenn. Regt.	
Colton, J. H.	53rd N. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
Cone, W. H. C.	19th Ga. Regt.	
Connerly, D. C. B.	51st Ala. Regt.	Methodist
Conrad, Thomas N.	3rd Va. Cav. Regt.	
Cook, J. O. A.	Sorrell's Brigade	Methodist
Cooks, R. N.		
Cooper, R. E.		Presbyterian
Cosby, James	38th Va. Regt.	Episcopalian
Coyle, Patrick		Roman Catholic
Craig, J. A.	5th S. C. Regt.	
Craig, J. M.	Army of Tenn.	
Crawford, W. H.	61st Tenn. Regt.	
Crawson, Richard M.		
Creath, S. A.	Army of Tenn.	

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Cridlin, R. W.	38th Va. Regt.	
Croghan, C. J.		Roman Catholic
Cross, Joseph	2nd Tenn. Regt.	Methodist
Cumley, W. M.	Hospital, Va.	
Cunningham, James T.	3rd Miss. Regt.	Roman Catholic
Cunningham, W. M.	4th Regt. Ga. Vols.	Presbyterian
Curry, W. G.	5th Ala. Regt.	
Curry, W. L.	50th Ga. Regt.	
Cushman, George	29th Ala. Regt.	
Dame, George	Hospital, Va.	
Damus, Fred		Episcopalian
Davenport, Silas D.	Hospital, Texas	
Davenport, T. H.	3rd Tenn. Regt.	Methodist
Davidson, E. C.	11th Miss. Regt.	Presbyterian
Davis, A. L.	2nd Ark. Regt.	
Davis, N. A.	4th Tex. Regt.	
Davis, Richard	6th Va. Cav. Regt.	Episcopalian
Davis, William	1st Fla. Regt.	
De Chaignon, A.	18th La. Regt.	Roman Catholic
Deans, John F.	61st Va. Regt.	
Denniston, E.		
Denny, George	50th Va. Regt.	Presbyterian
DePass, James P.	16th S. C. Regt.	
DeVotie, J. H.	2nd Ga. Regt.	Baptist
DeWitt, M. B.	8th Tenn. Regt.	Presbyterian
Dicharry, P. F.	3rd La. Regt.	Roman Catholic
Dill, Edward	22nd S. C. Regt.	
Dobbs, Charles	12th Miss. Regt.	Presbyterian
Dockey, D. L.		
Dodge, William	23rd Ga. Regt.	
Dodson		
Downing, Lewis	1st Cherokee Regt.	
Drewry, T. C. C.	Hospital, Va.	
Dryden, C. F.	12th Mo. Regt.	
DuBose, William		Episcopalian
Duckett, N. A.	3rd Tex. Cav. Regt.	
Duke, Thomas L.	9th Miss. Regt.	
Duncan, Thomas		Episcopalian
Duncan, W. W.	20th S. C. Regt.	Methodist
Dunham, Charles	Army of Miss.	
Dunlap, J. A.		

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Dunlap, W. C.	8th Ga. Regt.	Methodist
Dunn, B. S.	1st La. Regt.	Episcopalian
Dunwoody, James		Presbyterian
DuRant, H. H.	5th S. C. Vol. Regt.	
Easter, George	9th Va. Regt.	Episcopalian
Easter, John D.		
Eatman, Thomas J.	33rd N. C. Regt.	
Edmondson, John	20th Tenn. Regt.	
Edwards, George R.	23rd Va. Regt.	
Edwards, William		Methodist
Elliott, Collins D.	1st Tenn. Regt.	Methodist
Elliott, W. B.	Army of Tenn.	
Ellis, J. A.	20th Tenn. Regt.	Methodist
Ellis, L. B.	11th Mo. Regt.	
Ellison, B. F.		
Elwell, M.		Episcopalian
Emory, George	27th Ga. Regt.	
Erwin, T. W.	Hospital, N. C.	Presbyterian
Espy, Thomas B.	31st Ala. Regt.	
Evans, B. W.	36th Ark. Regt.	
Evans, Charles		
Evans, Robert	4th Ga. Regt.	Methodist
Ewing, Paul		
Farrow, W. T.	1st S. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
Featherstone, G. W.	30th Tenn. Regt.	
Feeling, John	Hospital, Va.	
Findlay, James	53rd Ala. Regt.	
Finley, James	32nd Tenn. Regt.	
Fisher, Charles	22nd Va. Regt.	
Fitzgerald, Frederick	2nd N. C. Regt.	Episcopalian
Fleming, W. H.	1st Ga. Regt.	Methodist
Flinn, William	3rd Ga. Regt.	Presbyterian
Flora, Joseph	63rd Tenn. Regt.	
Fly, D. W.	24th Tex. Cav. Regt.	
Fontaine, P. H.	53rd Va. Regt.	
Foster, Ely	18th Miss. Regt.	
Foster, W. L.	35th Miss. Regt.	
Foust, W. J.	32nd Tenn. Regt.	
Frazier, Robert	4th Ala. Regt.	
Freeman, I. F. W.		Presbyterian

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Frierson, M. W.		
Fry, John G.	7th Ga. Regt.	
Gache, Hippolite	10th La. Regt.	Roman Catholic
Gardner, William	24th Va. Regt.	Episcopalian
Garrison, Edwin A.	48th Miss. Regt.	
Garrison, James A.	20th Ga. Regt.	
Gatewood, R.	Hospital, Va.	Episcopalian
Geer, Edwin		Episcopalian
Gibbs, J. H.	Army of Tenn.	
Gierlow, John		Episcopalian
Gillis, Neil	Army of Tenn.	
Gilmer, George	2nd Corps Artillery	Presbyterian
Gilmer, Thomas W.		Presbyterian
Gilmore, J. Harvie	21st Va. Regt.	
Girardeau, J. L.	23rd S. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
Given, G. W.	Army of Tenn.	
Goal, John	Army of Miss.	
Godby, E. C.	63rd Tenn. Regt.	
Godfrey, J. A.	14th La. Regt.	Methodist
Goforth, N. B.	31st Tenn. Regt.	Baptist
Goodnight, Thomas M.	6th Ky. Regt.	
Gordon, C. M.	36th Miss Regt.	
Gould, Archibald	1st Fla. Cav. Regt.	
Goulding, F. R.		Episcopalian
Grace, J. L.	17th Ala. Regt.	
Graham, W. W.	28th Ala. Regt.	
Granbery, John C.	11th Va. Regt.	Methodist
Grandin, J. M.	33rd Va. Regt.	
Graves, A. R.	3rd Miss. Regt.	Presbyterian
Gray, G. T.	63rd Va. Regt.	Episcopalian
Gray, W. C.	4th Tenn. Regt.	Episcopalian
Green, E. M.	Hospital, Ga.	Presbyterian
Greene, J. M.	32nd Ga. Regt.	
Gregory, James L.	8th Ky. Regt.	
Gregory, John F.	26th Ala. Regt.	
Griffin, John W.	19th Va. Regt.	Episcopalian
Grisham, John	9th Tenn. Regt.	
Grundin, J. M.	33rd Va. Regt.	
Gwaltney, W. R.	1st N. C. Regt.	
Gwin, T. D.	1st S. C. Regt.	

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Hackett, J. A.	18th Miss. Regt.	
Hafford, W. D. F.	13th Tenn. Regt.	
Haines, F. M.	35th Miss. Regt.	
Haley, L. J.		
Hall, B. F.	McCullock's Tex. Rangers	Disciples
Hall, W. A.		
Hall, W. T.	30th Miss. Regt.	Presbyterian
Hamilton, A. L.	16th Ala. Regt.	
Hamilton, E. E.	5th Tenn. Regt.	
Hammond, W.	3rd Va. Regt.	Methodist
Hanks, W. E.	32nd Miss. Regt.	
Hard, W. J.		
Hardee, Robert	2nd La. Regt.	
Harden, T. B.	Benning's Brigade	
Hardie, R.	23rd La. Regt.	
Harding, Ephrain H.	45th Va. Regt.	Presbyterian
Hardwick, J. B.	Hospital, Virginia	
Harris, G. W.	8th Va. Regt.	
Harris, J. J.	26th Tenn. Regt.	
Harris, J. K.	Army of N. Va.	Presbyterian
Harris, James R.	7th Tenn. Regt.	
Harrison, Edmund R.	35th Ark. Regt.	Methodist
Harrold, J. A.	1st Va. Regt.	Episcopalian
Harrow, John	Army of N. Va.	
Harvey, James	2nd Ark. Regt.	Methodist
Haslett, William	21st Ga. Regt.	
Haslup, L. W.		
Hatcher, Hilary	61st Va. Regt.	
Haughton, Thomas	50th N. C. Regt.	Episcopalian
Hauser, William	48th Ga. Regt.	
Hawks, W. N.		
Haygood, F. M.	33rd Ala. Regt.	
Hearn, S. C.	Army of Tenn.	
Helms, W. T.	14th Tenn. Regt.	Episcopalian
Hemmingway, W. A.	21st S. C. Regt.	Methodist
Henderson, F. H. W.	56th Ga. Regt.	
Henderson, Green	2nd Tenn. Regt.	
Hendrix, W. W.	8th Tenn. Cav. Regt.	
Henkel, D. S.	28th N. C. Regt.	
Hershey, A. M.	Hospital, Va.	Presbyterian

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Hicks, George W.	Hospital, Va.	
Hidden, Elisha	30th Ga. Regt.	
Hidden, J. C.	Post Chap. U of Va.	
Hidgson, Telfair	1st Ala. Cav. Regt.	Episcopalian
Highley, Burton S.	51st Va. Regt.	
Hill, H. B.	16th Tenn. Regt.	
Hill, Sam I.	42nd N. C. Regt.	
Hilliard, Francis	Post Chap. U. of Va.	Episcopalian
Hinton, J. W.	3rd Ga. Cav. Regt.	
Hoge, William	Army of N. Va.	
Hogue, E.	11th Ark. Regt.	
Holifield, M. J.	12th Ky. Regt.	
Holland, Robert	Army of Tenn.	
Holt, John L.	34th Ala. Regt.	
Hooper, Thomas W.		Presbyterian
Hoover, William	33rd Miss. Regt.	
Hopkins, A. C.	2nd Va. Regt.	Presbyterian
Howard, Joseph L.	2nd Mo. Regt.	
Howell, T. H.	13th Ala. Regt.	
Howerton, S. W.	15th N. C. Regt.	
Howle, F. H.	13th Ala. Regt.	
Hoyle, Sam V.	12th Va. Regt.	
Hoyte, H. F.	2nd Ga. Cav. Regt.	Presbyterian
Hubert, Darius	1st La. Regt.	Roman Catholic
Huchins, Jonas	Hospital, S. C.	
Huddlestone, J. N.	40th Miss. Regt.	
Hudson, Edward	6th Tex. Cav. Regt.	
Hudson, John N.	17th Ga. Regt.	
Hughes, F. G.	65th Ga. Regt.	
Hume, Thomas	3rd Va. Regt.	Baptist
Hunter, Theodore		
Hutton, Cornelius M.	36th Ala. Regt.	Presbyterian
Hyde, George W.	Hospital, Va.	
Hyde, John P.	Hospital, Va.	
Hyman, John J.	49th Ga. Regt.	Baptist
Ibyner, J. E.	57th Va. Regt.	
James, A. A.	18th S. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
James, John T.	8th S. C. Regt.	
Jamison, P. G.	11th Tenn. Regt.	
Jarboe, Joseph	2nd Regt. Tenn. Vols.	Roman Catholic

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Jarrell, A. J.	19th Ga. Regt.	
Jenkins, Garvis	Hospital, S. C.	
Jennings, Thomas	11th Va. Regt.	
Johnson, H. T.	45th Miss. Regt.	
Johnson, John	Army of N. Va.	
Johnson, J. L.	17th Va. Regt.	
Johnson, J. T.	8th Va. Cav. Regt.	
Johnson, J. W.	Army of Miss.	
Johnson, Richard		Episcopalian
Johnson, Sam	15th Tex. Cav. Regt.	
Johnson, W. G.	11th Ala. Regt.	
Johnston, G. W.	1st Mo. Regt.	
Johnston, J. L.	17th Va. Regt.	
Johnston, P. A.	38th Miss. Regt.	
Jone, A. M.	55th Ga. Regt.	
Jones, H. H.	55th Va. Regt.	
Jones, John W.	13th Va. Regt.	Baptist
Jones, L. H.	4th Tex. Cav. Regt.	Episcopalian
Jones, W. B.	61st N. C. Regt.	
Jones, W. E.	22nd Ga. Regt.	
Jordan, J. H.	17th La. Regt.	
Jordan, Thomas H.		Methodist
Jordan, William	18th N. C. Regt.	Roman Catholic
Joyce, W. G.	5th Tex. Cav. Regt.	Methodist
Joyner, James E.		
Kavanaugh, H. H.	6th Ky. Regt.	Methodist
Keep, W. W.	46th Miss. Regt.	Baptist
Kennedy, Francis	28th N. C. Regt.	Methodist
Kennedy, J. C.	Army of Tenn.	
Kepitor, Paul A.		
Kerr, David	1st N. C. Regt.	
Kerr, Leander		
Kimball, T. A.	16th Ala. Regt.	
Kimble, F. A.	17th Ala. Regt.	
Kindrick, W. P.	19th Tenn. Cav. Regt.	
King, W. H.	1st S. C. Regt.	
Kirkland, A.	63rd N. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
Kramer, G. C. M. R.	39th Ga. Regt.	Methodist
Lacey, W. S.	47th N. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
Lacy, B. T.	Army of N. Va.	

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Lacy, Druey		Presbyterian
Lafferty, James J.	62nd Va. Regt.	Methodist
Lambeth, S. S.	10th Va. Regt.	
Landford, W. F.	52nd N. C. Regt.	
Landstreet, John	1st Va. Cav. Regt.	
Lane, J. S.	13th Ala. Regt.	
Langhorn, Maurice	6th Va. Regt.	
Lanier, W. O.		
Lattimore, J. L.	46th Miss. Regt.	
Lauck, J. M.	46th Va. Cav. Regt.	
Leachman, J. D.	20th Va. Cav. Regt.	
Lee, C. L. M.	5th Va. Regt.	
Lee, Edmund	Hospital, Ga.	Presbyterian
Lee, William M.	9th Ark. Regt.	
Leith, William		
Leps, James H.	Hospital, Ala.	Presbyterian
Leray, Francis X.	Hospital, Miss.	Roman Catholic
Lester, G. B.	8th Tenn. Regt.	
Lewis, Henry T.	Hospital, La.	
Link, J. B.	2nd Mo. Cav. Regt.	
Little, James	9th Fla. Regt.	Presbyterian
Loate, A. H.	Hospital, Va.	
Lockhart, P. J.	22nd Va. Cav. Regt.	
Lomax, A. A.	16th Miss. Regt.	
Long, J. G.	Army of Tenn.	
Lowe, J. C.	28th Miss. Regt.	
Lowery, James	4th Ga. Regt.	
Lykes, L. L.		
Macawlay, George	51st Ga. Regt.	
Mack, J. B.	55th Tenn. Regt.	Presbyterian
Mackay, James	8th Ark. Regt.	Methodist
Madison, L. B.	58th Va. Regt.	
Magell, John	52nd Va. Regt.	
Mahon, R. H.	20th Tenn. Regt.	
Mahon, W. J.	22nd Tenn. Regt.	
Mangum, A. W.	15th N. C. Regt.	
Manning, A. D.	6th Mo. Regt.	
Manucy, D.	Hospital, Ala.	Roman Catholic
Markham, T. R.	1st Miss. Regt.	Presbyterian
Marshall, Matthias	12th Ga. Regt.	Episcopalian

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Marshall, Matthias	Hospital, N. C.	
Martin, John	18th Tenn. Regt.	
Martin, Joseph	Post Chap., Richmond	
Massey, W. E.	8th Ala. Regt.	
Maury, M.	Hospital, Va.	Episcopalian
Meek, Jefferson		
Meredith, William	5th Va. Cav. Regt.	Episcopalian
Meynardie, Elias	2nd S. C. Regt.	Methodist
Mickle, Robert	14th Ga. Regt.	Presbyterian
Millcaps, John	20th Miss. Regt.	
Miller, Benjamin		
Miller, J. W.		Methodist
Miller, William G.	46th Va. Regt.	
Milliken, Leonard H.	13th Tenn. Regt.	
Mitchell, James	8th Mo. Regt.	
Moncure, Walter	30th Va. Regt.	
Monges, H. B.		Episcopalian
Monk, Francis	50th Ala. Regt.	
Montgomery, L. M.	22nd Miss. Regt.	
Mood, T. A.		
Moody, Thomas	Army of Tenn.	
Moore, A. B.	17th Tenn. Regt.	
Moore, Alex W.	14th Ga. Regt.	Methodist
Moore, H. G.	12th Ala. Regt.	
Moore, H. L.	7th Ark. Regt.	
Moore, J. P.	11th N. C. Regt.	
Moore, T. W.	23rd N. C. Regt.	
Morrison, Hugh M.	19th Miss. Regt.	Presbyterian
Morse, A. A.	17th S. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
Morton, Paul	23rd Va. Regt.	
Moses, Peter	34th Ark. Regt.	
Motheral, N. W.	9th Tenn. Cav. Regt.	
Moubay, William		
Mouton, John	Hospital, Miss.	Roman Catholic
Mullally, Francis	1st. S. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
Murphee, John	49th Ala. Regt.	
Murphey, Joseph	32nd N. C. Regt.	Episcopalian
Myers, J. H.	42nd Ga. Regt.	
McAfee, N. H.	22nd Ga. Regt.	
McBryde, William	5th Miss. Regt.	

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
McCabe, John	32nd Va. Regt.	Episcopalian
McCallaine, A. R.	15th S. C. Regt.	
McCampbell, James		
McCann, H.	Army of Tenn.	
McCarthy, Florence	7th Va. Regt.	
McCheaver		
McClure, Charles M.		
McCoy, H. P.		Presbyterian
McCoy, Robert		Presbyterian
McCullough, John		
McCutchen, John	7th Ky. Regt.	Methodist
McCutchen, John	24th Tenn. Regt.	
McDiarmid,	38th N. C. Regt.	
McDonald, Benjamin W.	50th Ala. Regt.	Presbyterian
McDonald, Claiborne	21st Miss. Regt.	
McDowell, James	6th S. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
McElyea, E. C.	23rd Tenn. Regt.	
McFerrin, John	2nd Tenn. Regt.	Methodist
McGee, William		
McGill, John	52nd Va. Regt.	Episcopalian
McGraw, J. O.	8th Tex. Regt.	
McGuire, J. P.		Episcopalian
McHan	36th Ga. Regt.	
McIlwaine, Richard	44th Va. Regt.	
McInnis, Richmond	Hospital, Miss.	Presbyterian
McKennon, Luther	36th N. C. Regt.	
McKenzie, J. W. P.	8th Tex. Regt.	
McKim, Randolph	2nd Va. Regt.	Episcopalian
McMahon, J. J.		
McMarron, J. W.	49th Va. Regt.	
McMullin, J. P.	Army of Miss.	
McNair, Evander	24th N. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
McNair, E. M.	1st Ala. Regt.	Presbyterian
McNeer, W. R.	4th Va. Regt.	
McNeilly, James H.	49th Tenn. Regt.	Presbyterian
McRae, Cameron		Episcopalian
McRae, John H.		
McSparrow, J. E.	Hospital, Virginia	
McVeigh	2nd Va. Regt.	
McVoy, A. D.	28th Ga. Regt.	

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Neill, Thomas	24th N. C. Regt.	
Nelson, James	44th Va. Regt.	
Nelson, Robert	21st Va. Regt.	
Nicholson, J. J.		Episcopalian
Nicholson, P.	49th N. C. Regt.	
Niven, T. M.		Presbyterian
Norris, W. B.		
Norton, Paul	23rd Va. Regt.	Episcopalian
Norton, R. W.	19th Tenn. Regt.	
Norton, Wilbur	39th Ala. Regt.	Methodist
O'Connell, Laurence P.	Hospital, Va.	Roman Catholic
O'Keefe, Matthew		Roman Catholic
Oldham, Montcalm	39th Va. Regt.	
Oliver, Charles		
O'Riely, Thomas	Hospital, Ga.	Roman Catholic
Overton, G. B.	2nd Ky. Regt.	Methodist
Owen, William B.	17th Miss. Regt.	Methodist
Page, M.	32nd Ga. Regt.	
Page, Tilmon	52nd Tenn. Regt.	
Paris, John	54th N. C. Regt.	Methodist
Parker, J. A.	Army of Tenn.	
Parks, W. A.	52nd Ga. Regt.	Methodist
Patterson, George	3rd N. C. Regt.	Episcopalian
Payne, W. L.	38th Tenn. Regt.	
Pearson, W. F.		
Pellicier, Anthony D.	Hospital, Ala.	Roman Catholic
Penick, W. S.	53rd Va. Regt.	
Perkins, E. T.		Episcopalian
Perry, B. H.	37th Ala. Regt.	
Perry, W. G.	44th Ala. Regt.	
Petaway, F. S.	44th Ala. Regt.	
Peterson, Peter	Army of N. Va.	
Petrie, George	22nd Ala. Regt.	Presbyterian
Pettigrew, J. L.	31st Ga. Regt.	
Phelps, G. W.	17th N. C. Regt.	Episcopalian
Phillips, Alex	29th Va. Regt.	
Phillips, N. G.	43rd Ala. Regt.	
Phillips, Preston	32nd Tex. Cav. Regt.	Methodist
Pickett, J. D.		Disciples
Pinkerton, Samuel		Episcopalian

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Pirtle, J. M.	14th Tenn. Regt.	
Pitts, Fountain	11th Tenn. Regt.	
Pitzer, A. W.	Army of Tenn.	
Pledger, W. P.	12th Ga. Regt.	
Plyler, C.	48th N. C. Regt.	
Pointer, J. V.	9th Tex. Regt.	
Pointer, Robert	10th Mo. Regt.	
Pont, Francis	Hospital, Miss.	Roman Catholic
Pope, Cadsman	Ark. Hempstead Rifles	
Porter, A. T.		Episcopalian
Porter, D. H.	5th Ga. Cav. Regt.	Presbyterian
Porter, G. J.	65th N. C. Regt.	
Porter, J. D.		Presbyterian
Porter, Robert	10th Miss. Regt.	Methodist
Potter, A. J.	26th Tex. Cav. Regt.	
Powell, J. D.		Episcopalian
Power, W. C.	14th N. C. Regt.	Methodist
Powledge, T. G.	12th Ga. Regt.	
Prachensky, Joseph	3rd Ala. Regt.	Roman Catholic
Pratt, H. B.	63rd N. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
Preston, Thomas	Army of N. Va.	
Price, R. J.	48th Ala. Regt.	
Price, William	39th Miss. Regt.	
Pryor, Theodorick		Presbyterian
Pugh, John W.	41st Va. Regt.	Presbyterian
Quaite, W. G. L.	1st Ark. Cav. Regt.	
Qualls, William	48th Tenn. Regt.	
Quarterman, N. P.	Army of Northern Va.	Presbyterian
Quintard, Charles T.	1st Tenn. Regt.	Episcopalian
Raby, J. W.	58th N. C. Regt.	
Raines, A. G.	14th Ala. Regt.	
Randolph, Alfred	Hospital, Va.	Episcopalian
Randolph, John	19th Tenn. Cav. Regt.	
Ransom, Lemuel C.	20th Ala. Regt.	Presbyterian
Ransom, R. R.	62nd Tenn. Regt.	Methodist
Redding, L. R.		
Renfroe, G. W.	62nd Tenn. Regt.	
Renfroe, J. J. D.	10th Ala. Regt.	
Renneck, Robert	Army of Miss.	
Reynolds, Perry	23rd Ark. Regt.	

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Rice, John	Army of Miss.	
Richards, H. B.	9th Va. Cav. Regt.	
Richards, J. G.	10th S. C. Regt.	
Richardson, J. D.	4th Miss. Regt.	
Richardson, W. B.	32nd N. C. Regt.	
Richie, David P.	25th Tenn. Regt.	
Riddle, J. J.	30th Tex. Cav. Regt.	
Ridgood, R. W.	32nd Va. Regt.	
Riggin, John	21st Ark. Regt.	
Riggs, A. C.	Army of Tenn.	
Ritchey, David	35th Tenn. Regt.	Presbyterian
Roach, James	10th Ala. Regt.	
Robbins, J. H.	12th N. C. Regt.	
Roberts, Peter	4th Va. Regt.	Episcopalian
Roberts, Peter G.	2nd La. Regt.	
Roberts, W. H.	Army of Tenn.	
Robinson, N. G.	30th Va. Regt.	
Robinson, W. T.	15th Ga. Regt.	
Rockey, J. H.	18th Tenn. Regt.	
Rodgers, Sam	22nd Va. Regt.	
Rodifer, Charles		Episcopalian
Rodman, E. M.		
Rogers, G. W.	3rd Mo. Regt.	
Rogers, J. W.		
Rosser, M. F.	41st Ga. Regt.	
Rosser, W. L.	7th Tenn. Cav. Regt.	
Royall, William	55th N. C. Regt.	
Rush, Leonard	3rd Ga. Cav. Regt.	Methodist
Russell, James	46th Ala. Regt.	
Rutledge, Thomas	3rd Ala. Regt.	Methodist
Ryan, Abram		Roman Catholic
Ryan, Patrick	8th Tenn. Regt.	Roman Catholic
Ryland, W. L.	13th Va. Regt.	
Schmulders, Egidius	8th La. Regt.	Roman Catholic
Schwrar, John	4th Tenn. Regt.	Episcopalian
Scinner, B. M.	19th Tex. Regt.	
Scott, John		Episcopalian
Scott, T. W.	Hospital, Va.	
Searcy, J. B.	26th Ark. Regt.	
Sears, O. H.	Hospital, Va.	
See, C. S. M.	5th Va. Regt.	

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Sharp, Joseph	18th Tex. Regt.	Presbyterian
Shaw, Colin	18th N. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
Sheeran, James	14th La. Regt.	Roman Catholic
Sheppard, S.	17th Va. Cav. Regt.	
Sikes, S. S.	Post Chap., Montgomery, Ala.	
Silliman, A. P.	Army of Miss.	
Simmons, W. A.	11th Ga. Regt.	Methodist
Slaughter, George	48th Va. Regt.	
Slaughter, P.	19th Va. Regt.	
Sloan, H. T.		
Smith, A. W.	25th Tenn. Regt.	
Smith, Aristides		Episcopalian
Smith, Busbey, B.	Hospital, Ala.	
Smith, G. T.		Episcopalian
Smith, H. M.		Presbyterian
Smith, Pickens	2nd S. C. Vol. Regt.	
Smith, Samuel H.	60th Ga. Regt.	
Smith, Thompson	22nd Va. Regt.	Episcopalian
Smith, William	Army of N. Va.	
Smedes, Bennett	5th N. C. Regt.	Episcopalian
Smythe, Robert L.	1st S. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
Sneed, Henry	1st Ga. Regt.	
Snodgrass, D. L.		
Southerland, L. R.		
Sowe, J. C.	28th Miss. Regt.	
Sparks, J. O. A.	4th Ga. Regt.	
Spiller, B. C.	13th Va. Cav. Regt.	Methodist
Sprunt, James	26th N. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
Stanley, Thomas	46th Ga. Regt.	
Stansberry, J. M.	Hospital, Ga.	
Stell, Reuben	64th Va. Regt.	
Stevens, A. B.	11th S. C. Regt.	Methodist
Stevens, A. H.	1st S. C. Regt.	
Stevenson, J. B.	Army of Tenn.	
Stewart, Kinsey J.	6th N. C. Regt.	Episcopalian
Stickney, G. W.	14th La. Regt.	Episcopalian
Stoddard, W. R.		Presbyterian
Stokes, David C.	7th Ga. Regt.	Methodist
Stokes, J. M.	3rd Ga. Regt.	
Stone, H. C.		Methodist
Stone, James B.	43rd Miss. Regt.	Methodist

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Stough, A. L.	37th N. C. Regt.	
Strayhorn, J. H.	Army of Miss.	
Street, J. K.	14th Tex. Cav. Regt.	
Strickland, John	40th Ga. Regt.	Methodist
Strickler, William	5th La. Regt.	
Stringfield, J. K.	1st Tenn. Regt.	Presbyterian
Stuart, Samuel	Army of N. Va.	
Stuart, W. H.	45th Ga. Regt.	
Sturgeon, J. C.	Hospital, Va.	Presbyterian
Sullins, David	19th Tenn. Regt.	Methodist
Swan, P.	5th Tex. Regt.	
Talley, George R.	6th Florida Regt.	
Talley, S. C.	2nd Tenn. Cav. Regt.	Methodist
Tattillo, F. J.	28th Tex. Cav. Regt.	
Taylor, B. M.	23rd Tenn. Regt.	
Taylor, George	25th Va. Regt.	
Taylor, James	Hospital, Va.	Baptist
Taylor, John	35th Ga. Regt.	
Taylor, R. F.	Hospital, Va.	Presbyterian
Taylor, Robert	9th Va. Regt.	
Taylor, S. S.	37th Ga. Regt.	
Tebbs, F. C.	4th Va. Regt.	
Teiling, John	Army of N. Va.	
Tennent, John	32nd N. C. Regt.	Episcopalian
Terry, Elisha	12th Tex. Cav. Regt.	
Terry, Robert	3rd N. C. Regt.	
Thigpen, Alex	6th Ga. Regt.	Methodist
Thompson, Eugene	43rd N. C. Regt.	
Thompson, John	Army of Miss.	
Tichenor, Isaac T.	17th Ala. Regt.	Baptist
Tilley, L. A.	53rd Ala. Regt.	Methodist
Tillinghast, John	44th N. C. Regt.	Episcopalian
Timberlake, John	2nd La. Regt.	
Tinkerton, L. I.	Hospital, Ga.	
Tinsley, Peter	28th Va. Regt.	Episcopalian
Tompkins, John H.	7th Florida Regt.	
Toy, C. H.	51st Ga. Regt.	
Trevillian, G. C.		
Tribble, Allen	34th Tenn. Regt.	Methodist
Trimble, Robert	1st Ark. Regt.	
Trislow, J. T.	6th Ark. Regt.	

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Tupper, H. A.	9th Ga. Regt.	Baptist
Turgis, Isador F.	30th La. Regt.	Roman Catholic
Tutt, J. M.	9th Mo. Regt.	
Tyler, C.	48th N. C. Regt.	
Tyler, J. B.	10th Va. Cav. Regt.	
Unaguskie	Cherokee Bn.	
Ungever, J. J.	3rd. Ky. Regt.	
Vanderhurst, William	6th Tex. Cav. Regt.	
Vann, William	13th N. C. Regt.	
Vass, L. C.	27th Va. Regt.	Presbyterian
Vaughan, Maurice	3rd N. C. Regt.	Episcopalian
Vertigan, Edward	17th Va. Cav. Regt.	
Vick, J. R.	1st Tex. Regt.	
Wabbon, E. P.	4th Ky. Regt.	
Wade, Thomas T.	19th Va. Cav. Regt.	
Walker, I.	48th Tenn. Regt.	
Walker, James A.		
Walker, Joseph		
Walkup, J. W.	9th Va. Regt.	
Wallace, James A.		
Walters, W. E.	2nd S. C. Regt.	
Walters, William	4th S. C. Regt.	
Walton, Payson	5th Va. Regt.	
Ward, J. W.	3rd Va. Regt.	
Ware, T. A.	8th Va. Regt.	Methodist
Watson, A. A.	2nd N. C. Regt.	Episcopalian
Watson, J. F.	16th N. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
Watson, P.		
Webb, R. S.	44th N. C. Regt.	
Weller, M. L.		Episcopalian
Wells, A. N.	2nd N. C. Regt.	Methodist
Wells, Marshall	Hospital, Va.	Methodist
West, Elbert	21st Ala. Regt.	
West, L. S.	13th Miss. Regt.	
West, Thomas	13th Ark. Regt.	
Wexler, Edwin	29th N. C. Regt.	Methodist
Wharey, J. M.		Presbyterian
Wharton, Lyman	59th Va. Regt.	Episcopalian
Wheat, A. J.	Hospital, La.	
Wheelwright, W. H.	9th Va. Cav. Regt.	
Whelan, Peter		

Name	*Military Unit*	*Denomination*
Whitsett, William	4th Tenn. Cav. Regt.	
Whitten, H. L.	9th Ala. Regt.	Methodist
Whitten, Moses	Army of Tenn.	
Wiatt, William	26th Va. Regt.	Methodist
Wier, T. C.	37th Miss. Regt.	Methodist
Wiggins, Robert	4th Fla. Regt.	Methodist
Wiley, E. E.	Hospital, Va.	
Williams, George	1st S. C. Cav. Regt.	Episcopalian
Williams, J. G.	3rd S. C. Cav. Regt.	
Williams, T. N.	42nd Va. Regt.	
Williams, William		Baptist
Williamson, J. E.		
Willis, E. J.	15th Va. Regt.	Baptist
Willoughby, J. H.	18th Ala. Regt.	
Wilmer, George	6th Va. Cav. Regt.	
Wilson, J. W.	35th Ala. Regt.	
Wilson, Joseph	Hospital, Tenn.	
Wilson, L. H.	14th Tenn. Regt.	Presbyterian
Wilson, Luther	1st Fla. Cav. Regt.	
Wilson, R. A.	35th Ala. Regt.	Methodist
Wilson, William		Presbyterian
Winchester, G. L.	6th Tenn. Regt.	Presbyterian
Wingfield, A. R.	12th Ark. Regt.	
Winkler, C. T.	25th S. C. Regt.	Baptist
Winter, William	15th Miss. Regt.	
Witherspoon, F. D.	2nd Miss. Regt.	Presbyterian
Witherspoon, Thomas	42nd Miss. Regt.	Presbyterian
Wood, F. H.	22nd N. C. Regt.	
Wood, W. A.	4th N. C. Regt.	Presbyterian
Woodfin, A. B.	61st Ga. Regt.	
Worrell, A. S.		
Wright, Joseph	1st Mo. Cav. Regt.	
Wyatt, W. E.		
Yarborough, E. W.	35th Ga. Regt.	
Yates, E. A.	1st N. C. Regt.	
Young, James	22nd Tenn. Regt.	
Young, Newton	Hospital, Miss.	
Young, William		Baptist
Zelner, Marion	12th Tenn. Cav. Regt.	
Zimmerman, G. H.	12th Va. Cav. Regt.	
Zively, John N.	5th Tex. Cav. Regt.	

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Joseph A. Cotten Papers
Elias Davis Letters
Harry St. John Dixon Letters
William Gale Collection
P. D. Gold Letters
James A. Graham Letters
Peter W. Hairston Papers
George W. Harper Letters
A. C. Haskell Papers
Charles F. James Papers
Francis Kennedy Diary
D. M. Key Letters
John Kiracofe Letters
Bishop H. C. Lay Papers
Mackay-Stiles Papers
Basil Manley Papers
Thomas C. McCorvey Letters
George Knox Miller Letters
William Mitchell Letters
Frank Nash Papers
John Paris Collection
W. D. Pender Papers
W. S. Pettigrew Papers
R. Channing Price Letters
E. P. Reeves Letters
Ruffin-Roulhas-Hamilton Papers
Henry C. Semple Letters
George Gilman Smith Papers
R. W. Waldrop Letters
George W. Walker Collection
Webb-Moore Papers
Cary Whitaker Papers
Henry F. Williams Letters
W. H. Wills Papers

Manuscripts Collection, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina

James H. Alexander Diary
Charles Andrews Letters
William H. Arehart Diary
James H. Baker Letters
J. J. Bell Diary
Henry Beveridge Diary
William H. Brotherton Papers
W. T. Conn Letters
Adam L. Dunlap and Daniel Rifle Papers
William L. Gregg Papers
John D. Harris Papers
John H. Hartman Papers
Turner W. Holly Papers
Joshua F. Joyner Papers
L. M. Keitt Letters
Edward W. Leinback Papers
Mathew N. Love Letters
John B. Magruder Papers
Bessie N. Mason Papers
Piller McDavid Letters
Hector McNeill Letters

Amanda E. Mills Papers
Jacob Moomaw Letters
Robert T. Nesbitt Papers
Jesse E. Newson Letters
Dudley Digg Pendleton Papers
Charles T. Quintard Papers
C. L. Refo Letters
William Moultrie Reid Letters
Jeffrey Robins Papers
Irby H. Scott Papers
Milton and Oliphant S. Walker Letters
James Wilcox Letters

North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, North Carolina

Armfield Papers
Milton Carter Papers
Miles A. Cavin Papers
Henry A. Chambers Diary
Francis Clewell Papers
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DeRossett Papers
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J. E. Green Diary
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Adolph Pitcher Diary
Pollock-Devereaux Papers
Stephen Reed Letters
J. F. Shaffer Papers
W. W. Stringfield Papers
Colin Shaw Papers
A. S. Webb Papers
John A. Young Diary

Microfilm Collection, Joint University Libraries, Nashville, Tennessee

H. S. Archer Diary

Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia

George M. Neese Diary
John F. Sale Collection

Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia

William H. Routt Papers
Cornelius Walker Diary

Military Records Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama

Newton Davis Letters
Francis Hanson Diary

Official Records of the 16th Alabama Infantry Regiment

H. C. Reynolds Letters
William H. Sanders Collection
William H. Simmons Collection
James H. Simpson Collection
James Thrower Letters
P. T. Vaughan Diary
Thomas Warrick Letters

Biographical Folders

(All are in the Alabama Department of History and Archives. These folders contain manuscripts, newspaper clippings, and typescript articles.)

Happy Family
Renfroe Family
Selma Family
Sturgeon Family
Tichenor Family
Wells Family
Williams Family
Witherspoon Family

Scrapbooks

(These scrapbooks contain handwritten notes, pictures, and newspaper clippings.)

Mary T. Haley
M. L. Kirkpatrick
S. B. Hall

National Archives Collection

Confederate Chaplains' letters, in the Files of the Confederate War Department, National Archives, Washington, D. C.
Confederate Chaplains' Letters, in the Confederate Adjutant General's Office, National Archives.

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